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THE COLLECTION OF
Theodorus Bailey Myers
PRESENTED BY
HIS WIDOW
Catalina Juliana Mason Myers
HIS DAUGHTER
Cassie Mason Myers Julian-James
HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW
Edmonia Taylor Phelps Mason
TO THE
New York Public Library
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
IN MEMORY OF
Theodorus Bailey Myers
AND HIS SON
Theodorus Bailey Myers Mason
LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER
UNITED STATES NAVY
1899

Christie

THE

MILITARY

AND

NAVAL OPERATIONS

IN THE CANADAS,

DURING THE LATE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

INCLUDING ALSO,

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF LOWER-CANADA,

DURING THE

ADMINISTRATIONS OF

SIR JAMES HENRY CRAIG,

AND

SIR GEORGE PREVOST;

FROM THE YEAR 1807 UNTIL THE YEAR 1815.

BY ROBERT CHRISTIE, ESQ.

QUEBEC—PRINTED.

1818.

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May 1918

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ment of the colony, and his successor must therefore have found affairs in suspence on his arrival.

The American Government at that time began to breathe a hostile spirit towards Great-Britain; but, although an appeal was made to the loyalty of the People by his Predecessor, the Governor was averse to embody the Militia, until an emergency should at once demand and justify the measure. It does not appear that he mistrusted, on the contrary, he expressed on various occasions a confidence in the loyalty of the province; and the hereditary animosity of the Canadian to the American character, was a pledge of their fidelity, which he, however, seemed willing to avoid (from what motive it is not well understood) putting to the test.

His first measure was to convoke the House of Assembly which met at Quebec on the 29th January, 1808. Here a question was agitated, which, for the two preceding Sessions having considerably engaged the attention of the House, excited the public feeling, and ultimately led to the troubles which afterwards embittered his administration.

A Judge of the Court of King's Bench for Quebec, had for the present, as well as for some former Parliaments, been returned as representative for the County of Quebec, and a doubt having been started of the eligibility of Judges for seats in the Provincial Parliament, the House divided in opinion. One party maintained it to be incompatible with the rank of a Judge, to canvass for votes in a County in which he was in the daily habit of administering justice. That many of the Elec-

tors overawed with the apprehension of incurring the displeasure of the Judge, who in his judicial capacity might pervert the ends of Justice to gratify personal pique, could not be presumed to be free, and uninfluenced by such a candidate. That in England the Judges were ineligible to a seat in the House of Commons, and in fine, that the artifices and intrigues incidental to popular elections, were unbecoming in a Judge and a mere prostitution of the judicial dignity. These and similar arguments were industriously propagated, and gained ground rapidly in the public opinion. The opposite party contended that no such disqualification existed in virtue of the constitutional act* by which alone the Colonial Legislature was to be guided, and that to create such, would be an intrenchment upon the rights and privileges of the Imperial Parliament of Great-Britain, which, it would not fail to resent. That it would be absurd as well as dangerous to admit the right in a constituted body, to amend or modify in the smallest degree the act of the constituting power, upon which the very existence of the former depended, and therefore, that the Provincial Legislature was incompetent to disqualify any description of His Majesty's subjects from being eligible to a seat in the House of Assembly. The former opinion prevailed in the Lower House, but was discountenanced in the Legislative Council.

Another question somewhat similar to this was agitated during the present Session. A Jew of reputable character having been elected and returned for the Town of Three-Rivers, it was contended that his reli-

* The Act of the British Parliament 31, Geo. 3, chap. 31, which gave to the Canadas their present Constitution

ous persuasion created an inability to sit and vote as a Member of the House of Assembly. The leading Members exerted themselves in support of the competence of the House to exclude him by *resolution*, or at least of the undeniable right of the Legislature to supply by enactment, such provisions in matters affecting their privileges as might have been improvidently omitted in the constitutional act. After some animated debate, rather relating to the mode of expelling or disqualifying the Member for Three-Rivers, than to the propriety of the measure, the party for expelling him by resolution prevailed, and it was resolved 'that being 'of the Jewish persuasion he could not take a seat, nor 'sit, nor vote in the House of Assembly.' The House granted a sum for repairing the ancient Castle of St. Lewis (the residence of the Governor) and the business of the Session being brought to a close, the Governor with some encomiums on the diligence and liberality of the Assembly, prorogued the Session, which terminated the fourth Provincial Parliament.

Unhappily for the tranquillity of this administration a party spirit had gained ground, and was irritated by the odious and reiterated reflections of an eminent journalist in the metropolis of the colony, upon the manners and customs of the Canadian population, as well as upon their religious and political opinions. His sentiments in the minds of those who were, or rather, who conceived themselves essentially injured by them, were considered as of a party *Anti-Canadian*, nay, even of the Government itself. A few individuals, indignant at the affront, incurred the expence of procuring a press, with a view of counteracting the influence which the labors of the Editor might produce, to the political

detriment of the Province. From this Press a weekly Paper, called *Le Canadian*, issued in the French language, which soon acquired popularity with the denomination of an opposition paper. A newspaper strife far from harmonizing parties, by reciprocally enquiring into the causes of their misunderstanding, inflamed the growing evil, and the odious sense applied to the terms *Canadian* and *Anti-Canadian*, *Choyen* and *Democrat*, distinctive of parties, gave uneasiness to all who earnestly cultivated a good understanding with their fellow citizens. From the novel and hardy spirit of this publication, many who were connected with the administration of the Colonial Government, or dependant upon it, affected to suspect a conspiracy on foot, and that secret funds were furnished from abroad for the purpose of alienating the minds of the people from their allegiance, and to revolutionize the Province. Some ancient and respectable citizens, known to have contributed towards the purchase of the press, were dismissed from their rank in the Sedentary Militia; among them Mr. Panet, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, a gentleman of the most unimpeachable integrity. This measure, although of little importance in itself, created from its harshness, an interest in the public, which strengthened the party already formed in opposition to the measures of the administration.

In June, the elections for the ensuing Parliament took place, and were conducted in most counties with unanimity. The late Speaker presented himself for the Upper Town of Quebec, but the resident Military, and dependants on the several Military Departments in Quebec, entitled to vote, influenced by the example of their Chiefs, turned the scale against him. He was however, elected in the mean time for another County.

Material improvements to the fortifications of Quebec were commenced this Summer; and the foundations of four towers extending across the commanding ground in front of the walls, west of the city, were laid. The extraordinary state of affairs in Europe, combined with the American Embargo, turned an unusual tide of commerce into the Canadas, and their resources and utility to the mother country were exemplified, far beyond the expectations of the most sanguine and intelligent speculator.

On the 10th of April, 1809, the House of Assembly met pursuant to the Governor's Proclamation, and the people were on the tiptoe of anxiety, a report having gone abroad that His Excellency would not concur with the House, should their choice be in favor of the Speaker of the late House of Assembly, whom he had some time before dismissed the Militia. The gentleman was, however, almost unanimously chosen Speaker, and the Governor approved of his election.

In his Speech at the opening of Parliament, the Governor descanted upon the unfavorable posture of affairs with America; the revolution in Spain; and the generous assistance afforded that Country by Great-Britain; the emigration of the Royal Family of Portugal to the new world; the victory of the British at Vimiera, by which Portugal had been rescued from the French; and concluded by cautioning the Members of the Legislature against jealousies among themselves, or of the Government, which could have no other object in view than the general welfare. 'I regret gentlemen,' said he 'that I have been compelled by circumstances, 'to call you together at a season of the year which I

'am well aware, must be highly inconvenient to many 'of you: this consideration dwelt so strongly upon my 'mind, that not seeing any particular object of public 'service that indispensably required your immediate 'attention, I had it in contemplation to defer your 'meeting 'till a period of less prejudicial consequence 'to your private accommodation, but, on referring to 'the Act of the British Parliament on which the Con-'stitution of this Province is founded, I felt reason of 'hesitation, at least as to the grounds on which I sup-'posed myself able to do so; I have therefore been in-'duced to rely on your cheerful acquiescence in the 'inconvenience under which your may labor, rather 'than give rise to a possible doubt as to my intention 'of infringing on a right so valuable to you as that of 'your annual Assembly. And this I have done under 'the circumstance of being precluded from giving quite 'that notice which has been in some degree sanctioned 'by custom, and which, although not called for by any 'express law, is, nevertheless a precaution for the pre-'servation of that mutual confidence which is so desir-'able, by guarding against the possibility of any sus-'picion, as to the intention or circumstances under 'which you may be assembled.'

The House, after an address in answer to His Excellency's Speech, into which it was endeavored to introduce an indirect reproof for the hints which had fallen from him, resumed with warmth, the question concerning the Judge and the Jew.* The more determined Members were for expelling them by resolution, but a motion for the expulsion of the Judge in this mode, was negatived by a considerable majority, part of

*These Gentlemen had been re-elected at the late Elections.

whom, though disposed to disqualify Judges from being eligible to a seat in the House, were averse to the means proposed, insisting that nothing less than an Act of the Legislature could operate such a disqualification Others strongly urged that the Electors were, and o right ought to be, the sole constitutional judges of the competence of their delegate, and that his expulsion under any form, would amount to a gross violation o the most sacred rights of the people, and be an act o arbitrary power, incompatible with the freedom of the Constitution. This effort having failed, a committee was appointed to enquire into, and report to the House, the inconvenience resulting from the election of Judges to sit in the House of Assembly, and in the mean time, a disqualifying Bill was introduced and read for the first time. The enquiry was carried on with perseverance, and proved rather to the disadvantage of the individual concerned, for which reason we refrain from any reflection on the subject. The exclusion of the Jew was more closely prosecuted. The House renewed the resolution which had been taken against his admittance to sit and vote in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, and a Bill to disqualify Jews from being eligible to a seat in the House of Assembly was introduced, and underwent two readings. The lapse of five weeks in the prosecution of these measures exhausted the patience of the Governor, whose Military education and habits, may on this occasion have influenced his better judgment. The spirited perseverance of a deliberate body in a favorite measure, appeared to him like the refractory spirit of a body of soldiers, which he seemed determined to crush.

On the 15th of May, he went down in state from the

Castle to the Legislative Council, where having summoned into his presence, the House of Assembly, and after giving the Royal Assent to such Bills as were ready, (five in number) he informed them of his intention of dissolving the present Parliament, and of recurring to the sense of the people. 'When I met you, (said he,) 'at the commencement of the present Session, I had no 'reason to doubt your moderation or your prudence, 'and I therefore willingly relied upon both: under the 'guidance of these principles I expected from you a 'manly sacrifice of all personal animosities, and indivi-'dual dissatisfaction, a watchful solicitude for the con-'cerns of your country, and a steady perseverance in 'the executing of your public duty, with zeal and de-'spatch. I looked for earnest endeavors to promote 'the general harmony of the province, and a careful 'abstinence from whatsoever might have a tendency 'to disturb it; for due and therefore indispensable at-'tention to the other branches of the Legislature, and 'for prompt and cheerful co-operation and assistance 'in whatever might conduce to the happiness and wel-'fare of the Colony. All this I had a right to expect, 'because such was your constitutional duty; because 'such a conduct would have been a lasting testimony, 'as it was the only one sought for by His Majesty's 'government, of that loyalty and affection which you 'have so warmly professed, and which I believe you 'to possess; and because it was particularly called 'for by the critical conjuncture of the times, and espe-'cially by the precarious situation in which we then 'stood with respect to the American States. I am sorry 'to add, that I have been disappointed in all these ex-'pectations, and in every hope on which I relied.

'You have wasted (continued he) in fruitless debates, 'excited by private and personal animosity, or by frivolous contests upon trivial matters of form, that time 'and those talents, to which within your walls, the 'public have an exclusive title. This abuse of your 'functions you have preferred to the high and important duties which you owe to your Sovereign and to 'your constituents, and you have thereby been forced 'to neglect the consideration of matters of moment 'and necessity which were before you, while you have 'at the same time virtually prevented the introduction 'of such others as may have been in contemplation. If 'any proof of this misuse of your time were necessary, 'I have just presented it in having been called on after 'a session of five weeks, to exercise his Majesty's prerogative of assent, to only the same number of bills, 'three of which were the mere renewal of acts to which 'you stood pledged, and which required no discussion. So much of intemperate heat has been manifested in all your proceedings, and you have shewn 'such a prolonged and disrespectful attention to matters submitted to your consideration by the other 'branches of the Legislature, that whatever might be 'the moderation and forbearance exercised on their 'parts, a general good understanding is scarcely to be 'looked for without a new Assembly.'

'I shall not (he added,) particularly advert to other 'acts which appear to be unconstitutional infringements of the rights of the subject repugnant to the 'very letter of the statute of the Imperial Parliament, 'under which you hold your seats: and to have been 'matured by proceedings, which amount to a derelic'tion of the first principles of natural justice.' He con-

cluded this speech with his acknowledgments to the Legislative Council for the unanimity, zeal, and unremitting attention, they had shewn in their proceedings.

To a portion of the House of Assembly, he also expressed his thanks, and trusted they would believe he did them the justice of a proper discrimination in the sense he entertained of their efforts, to avert that conduct of which he had so much reason to complain. 'By this, gentlemen,' (said he, addressing himself to the minority who had purposely assembled together on one side of the room) 'You have truly manifested your 'affection to His Majesty's government, and your just 'estimation of the real and permanent interests of the 'Province.'

This hardy and decisive measure astonished the leading members, who, at the utmost, anticipated no more than a prorogation. A dissolution attended with such pointed and almost personal censure, far exceeded their expectation, and they returned to their constituents covered with the opprobrium of having incurred the Governor's displeasure; a matter of no little moment in the eyes of the multitude, as yet unaccustomed to the freedom of the constitution. The country people who were at first disposed to think favorably of the recent measures of the Executive, gradually altered their opinions, and were finally persuaded that the House of Assembly had been dissolved for having espoused their interests, in opposition to the encroachments of the Crown. The press was put into violent action, and the *Canadian* teemed with able but sarcastic strictures on the Governor's speech at the dissolution, and with strong animadversions upon the public measures. The preamble to the Bill of Rights, in

allusion to the Governor's measures with respect to the Assembly, was inserted as a motto at the head of that paper, which was industriously circulated throughout the province. Among other reports, it was said, and at length currently believed, that the Governor had been influenced and deceived by the intrigues of a favorite judge, whom, having discovered the craftiness and duplicity of his character, he now intended to discard. This belief materially contributed to reinstate and confirm the credit of the late members in the minds of the people.

In the middle of June, the Governor left Quebec on a tour through the Province, attended with a numerous suite, and travelled in magnificent style. Several of the citizens of Three-Rivers, Montreal, Saint Johns, and William Henry, successively received him with Addresses of applause and thanks, for the interposition of the royal prerogative in dissolving the House of Assembly. These addresses being inserted in the public prints, were criticised in the *Canadian* with much asperity and abuse.*

In the month of October the election for the ensuing Parliament took place, and the people having had ample time to reflect upon affairs, re-elected, contrary to the expectation of government, most of the late representatives; removing some who were supposed to have been too passive, and substituting others of a less flexible temper in their stead.

* Among the arbitrary measures which characterise the times, the dismissal of the Solicitor General, James Stuart, esquire, from his Office, without any other ostensible reason than his independent conduct as a Member of the House of Assembly is not the least remarkable. He was succeeded by Stephen Sewell, esquire, an Advocate at Montreal.

The House of Assembly met on the 29th January, 1810, pursuant to the Governor's Proclamation. The Speaker of the last Assembly (Mr Panet) being re-elected, was approved of by the Governor, who in his speech to the legislature adverted to the unfavourable disposition of America towards Great-Britain. He complimented them on the capture of the Island of Martinique, and the battle of Talavera, which had torn from the French that character of invincibility they imagined themselves to have possessed in the opinion of the world. He recommended a renewal of such acts as might enable the executive government more effectually to discharge its duty, in guarding against dangers which could scarcely be remedied by the common course of law. He called their attention to the practice of forging foreign bank bills, which, from the want of a remedy in the present code of penal laws, had of late, grown to a very dangerous extent, to the prejudice of the neighbouring States of America, as well as to our own subjects. With respect to the question which had led to the dissolution of the preceding Assembly, he observed, "that during 'the two last Sessions, the question of the expediency 'of the exclusion of His Majesty's Judges of the Court 'of King's Bench, from a seat in the House of Repre-'sentatives had been much agitated; that this question 'rested on the desire of precluding the possibility of 'the existence of a bias on the minds of persons exer-'cising functions in those Courts, from their being un-'der the necessity of soliciting the votes of individuals, 'on whose persons or property, they might afterwards 'have to decide. Whatever (said he) might be my own 'opinion on the subject, I nevertheless hold the right 'of choice in the people, and that of being chosen by

'them in too high estimation to have taken upon myself, had the question ever come before me, the responsibility of giving His Majesty's assent to the putting limits to either, by the exclusion of any class of his subjects; and they are rights, of which it is impossible to suppose they could be deprived by any other authority than that of the concurrence of the three branches of the legislature. That the channel in which flows the current of public justice, should be pure and free from every, the slightest contamination, is too essential to the happiness of the people, not to be interesting to a government which has solely that object in view, and it is little less necessary to that happiness, that there should not exist in the minds of the people a doubt on the subject. In this latter view, (he observed) I have thought that the early disposal of the question may be of utility, and therefore, in recommending the subject to your consideration, I have to add, that having received His Majesty's pleasure upon it, I shall feel myself warranted in giving his royal assent, to any proper bill for rendering His Majesty's Judges of the Courts of King's Bench, in future, ineligible to a seat in the House of Assembly, in which the two houses may concur.'

This speech, far from conciliating, tended to inflame the Commons, who construed it into an avowal of precipitancy and error in dissolving the last Parliament, and it was surmised by many, that the Governor had incurred the displeasure of ministers by the exercise of the royal prerogative in dissolving the late Assembly. This impression emboldened the members still indignant at the late dissolution. The first measure of the House was to pass a resolution :—'That every attempt

'of the executive government and of the other branches 'of the legislature against this House, whether in dic- 'tating or censuring its proceedings, or in approving 'the conduct of o ie part of its members,and disapprov- 'ing the conduct of the others, is a violation of the sta- 'tute by which this House is constituted; a breach of 'the privileges of this House against which it cannot 'forbear objecting: and a dangerous attack upon the 'rights and liberties of His Majesty's subjects in this 'province.' This resolution was aimed at the conclusion of the Governor's speech at the late dissolution.

The discussion of the civil list was taken up by the House, and it was maintained that the province was now capable of relieving the mother country of this burthen, which the majority plausibly urged, would inevitably, at no very remote period, devolve upon the province with accumulated weight. To anticipate the charge would therefore prove a saving to the province. The minority affected to discover a deep design in the measure, and opposed it with some warmth. The idea of levying additional revenues to the amount of fifty thousand pounds (as it was reported with a view of marring the measure) startled the country people, who, on the other hand, were instructed that the House of Assembly having the provincial revenues at their disposition, would, in the event, retrench a number of pensions, and by that means considerably diminish the public expence. A resolution was passed by the House, that the province was able to supply funds for the payment of the civil list, and loyal addresses were drawn up to the King, Lords, and Commons of Great-Britain. In these, the House expressed a sense of the many favours the colony had experienced from the

beneficence of the mother country, and of the loyalty and prosperity of the province, by which it was enabled to take upon itself the charge of the civil expenditure of the government; a step to which they had been particularly influenced by reason of the long and expensive war, wherein Great-Britain had been, and still was engaged for the common protection of every branch of her extensive empire. The House of Assembly presented these addresses to the Governor, requesting he would be pleased to lay them before his Majesty's ministers for the purpose of submitting them to the King, Lords and Commons of Great-Britain.

In answer to their request the Governor observed, that the addresses were somewhat novel, and required reflection—that the constitutional usage of parliament, recognised by the wisdom of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, forbad all steps on the part of the people towards grants of money which were not recommended by the crown; and although by the same parliamentary usage, all grants do originate in the Lower House; yet, that they were ineffectual without the concurrence of the Upper House: that no precedent existed to his knowledge of addresses to the House of Lords, or House of Commons, separately by a single branch of a colonial legislature: that for these reasons, he conceived the addresses to be unprecedented, imperfect in form, and founded upon a resolution of the House of Assembly, which, until sanctioned by the concurrence of the Legislative Council, must be ineffectual; except as a spontaneous offer on the part of the Commons of Canada: That he regretted he could not take upon himself to transmit these addresses to his Majesty's ministers, impressed as he was

with a sense of his duty, and added that the ministers were not the regular organ of communication with the House of Commons, unless by his Majesty's command. He concluded however, by informing them that on the present occasion, he thought it right to transmit to the King this testimony of the good disposition, gratitude and generous intentions of his subjects in the province of Lower Canada. He said, he thought it right also, that his Majesty by their own act, should be formally apprised of the ability, and of the voluntary pledge and promise, which the people of this province by this address, had given to his Majesty, to pay the civil expenditure of the province when required so to do. For these reasons he engaged to transmit their address to the King. He observed that their zeal for the welfare of his Majesty's government, deserved from him every mark of acknowledgment, and he regretted that any circumstances should have compelled him to express himself on the subject in a way that might carry with it, an appearance, however little intended, of opposing any check to the manifestation of the sentiments under which he was persuaded they had been actuated.

The appointment of a colonial agent in England, had been contemplated by the late House of Assembly, and the subject was again taken into consideration in the present session, but without effect. The advantages proposed by this measure, were a regular and direct intercourse between the House of Assembly and the Commons of Great Britain, and a check upon the executive of the colony. A bill to this intent was framed but did not arrive at maturity. The expedience of providing in future for the payment of the members of the House of Assembly during their attendance at

the Sessions was also discussed, but this measure, which with certain modifications might have been judicious was however, successfully opposed.

In the mean time a bill for rendering Judges ineligible to seats in the House of Assembly was drawn up and having passed below, was transmitted to the Upper House. Here the bill was amended by the introduction of a clause postponing the period at which it should take effect, until the expiration of the present Parliament, the Judge whom we have already had occasion to mention, having been returned as a member at the late elections. The House, indignant at the amendment, and resolved at all hazards to expel the Judge before the amendment was disposed of, passed a resolution "That P. A. De Bonne, being one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, could not sit nor vote in that House," and declared his seat vacant. This measure brought things to a crisis and placed the Governor in a dilemma. To acquiesce with the House in this instance, would have been a relinquishment of the principles which the Governor had hitherto maintained and published at the opening of the session, at once inconsistent with himself and with the dignity of his post. On the other hand, a second dissolution of the House, he was sensible, must be attended with much public inconvenience and engender discontent. He however determined on the latter, and (on the 26th of February) went down to the Council hCamber with the usual solemnities, and sent a message to the House of Assembly requiring their immediate attendance at the bar. The Members with the Speaker in obedience to the message, proceeded to the Council Chamber, where he informed them, that he had come down for the pur-

Second dissolution of the Parliament.

pose of proroguing the Parliament, and that upon a mature consideration of the circumstances which had taken place, he had determined again to refer to the sense of the people by an immediate dissolution.

'Whatever (said he) might be my personal wishes, 'or however strong might be my desire that the public 'business should suffer no interruption, I feel that on 'this occasion, nothing is left to my discretion. It has 'been rendered impossible for me to act otherwise, 'than in the way I am proposing.

'The House of Assembly have taken upon them-'selves without the participation of the other branches 'of the legislature, to pass a vote, that a Judge of His 'Majesty's Court of King's Bench cannot sit nor vote 'in their House.

'However I might set aside the personal feelings 'which would not be unnatural in me, as to the mode 'in which this transaction has been conducted towards 'myself, there is another and infinitely higher consid-'eration arises out of it which I must not overlook.

'It is impossible for me to consider what has been 'done in any other light, than as a direct violation of 'an act of the Imperial Parliament: of that Parlia-'ment which conferred on you the constitution to which 'you profess to owe your present prosperity; nor can 'I do otherwise than consider the House of Assembly 'as having unconstitutionally disfranchised a large 'portion of his Majesty's subjects, and rendered ineli-'gible by an authority which they do not possess, ano-'ther not inconsiderable class of the community.

'Such an assumption I should at any rate feel myself bound by every tie of duty to oppose: but in consequence of the expulsion of the Member for the county of Quebec, a vacancy in the representation of that county has been declared, and it would be necessary that a new writ should issue for the Election of another Member: that writ would be, to be signed by me. Gentlemen, (said he, with warmth and emphasis) I cannot, dare not, render myself a partaker in the violation of an act of the Imperial Parliament, and I know no other way by which I can avoid becoming so, but that which Iam pursuing.'

'When we met I felt much satisfaction in the consciousness of having taken such steps as I thought most likely to facilitate, indeed I thought would do away every possible objection to a measure that seemed to be wished for, and that in itself met my entire concurrence: but the only objection that can I think exist in the mind of any reasonable man to the eligibility of the Judges, arises from the possible effect that may be produced by the necessity it puts them under, of soliciting the votes of the electors. No well grounded objection can be offered to their sitting in the House, when they are elected. On the contrary, their talents and superior knowledge must render them highly useful, and were it not for other considerations, highly desirable Members. I cannot but exceedingly lament, that a measure which I consider as beneficial to the country should not have taken effect. The people, however, in the disappointment of their expectations will do me the justice to acquit me of being the cause of it, as they must equally acquit me of being the cause that so little of the public business has been done.'

On his entrance and departure from the Council Chamber, the Governor was cheered by the populace friendly to his measures, with loud and repeated acclamations, while the crest-fallen Members and their friends retired with silent indignation. The Governor's military promptitude, which they considered in civil affairs as verging upon despotism, again over-reached their expectations and the Canadian public (a very great majority of the population) universally expressed their resolution of re-electing the late Members, with injunctions to persevere in the same measures. So strongly were they prepossesed of the opinion, that the Governor, influenced by his favorite, only wished to screen him from the ignominy of an expulsion.

Upon a cool survey of the questions that led to the misunderstanding between the Governor and the House of Assembly, we may at this late period be indulged in the assertion that the situation of the Governor was critical and trying in the extreme; and it is difficult to conceive, how he could otherwise have consistently extricated himself from the embarrassing dilemma, into which he had been urged.

After the dissolution, studied addresses prepared by agents of the administration, flowed in upon the Governor from all quarters. The city and county of Quebec, the city of Montreal, the town of Three-Rivers, and the Borough of William Henry, and the counties of Warwick and Orleans, were conspicuous on the occasion. The late Members assisted by their friends, in the mean time, exerted themselves diligently to secure their elections. Songs adapted to the vulgar taste, and calculated to rouse the public spirit

weré composed and circulated, the *Canadian* t with harangues, addresses and observations on t currences of the day, and the measures of the tive ;* while on the other hand, the discovery bals and plans of insurrection and rebellion, wer teriously whispered among the minions of the ad tration. At one moment it was rumoured th French minister in America had supplied larg in gold, to promote the views of the seditious in da ; at another, that the whole of his correspo had been intercepted by some confidential ag our government. These reports, though utterly g less, and held in contempt by the adverse party fabrications of intriguing sycophants, were ne less, evidently intended to prepare the public mi some eventful crisis.

* Of the many anonymous productions published at the per addressed to the public in a flying sheet of the *Canadian*, sign *Sincere*, excited much attention, and created uneasiness in the the Governor, who it seems made up his mind, from the mom appearance to seize the *Canadian* Press.—See Appendix Lette

CHAPTER II.

res of the administration and imprisonment of several persons. Governor's Proclamation. Proceedings of the Court of King's ch at Quebec. The Judge (De Bonne) declines his election. oners at Montreal released. Meetings of the New Provincial iament. The Governor's Speech. Answer of the Assembly. Governor's reply. Bill rendering Judges ineligible to a seat in Assembly. Prorogation of Parliament. The Governor's Depar- for England. His Character.

/E approach a period in the annals of the co- lony, upon which, from the contrariety of pub- pinion as to the measures by which it is charac- :d, we enter with diffidence and respect. The ı that had been gathering for some time, was now y to burst. The elections were now approaching, the executive seemed determined to strike a blow would crush all spirit of opposition in the people, awe their leaders into silence and submission.

ı the 17th day of March, a party of soldiers head- y a magistrate and two constables, proceeded to *Canadian* Printing-Office in Quebec, under the ion of the executive, where having forcibly seized ress, and the whole of the papers of every de- tion found in the house, they conveyed them from e to the vaults of the Court-House. The printer e *Canadian* was apprehended, and after examina- before the council, was committed to prison. The ds in the mean time were strengthened, and pa-

troles were sent in all directions through the
if an immediate and universal insurrection of t
ple had been expected. The public, struck
appearances of unusual precaution, remained in
and suspence; while the discovery of plots,
and conspiracies, was confidently asserted;
official promulgation of some deep laid conspir
anxiously expected. The Montreal *Courier*
tained beyond the usual time, with a view, a
pretended, of preventing any report of the n
resorted to, until the expected discoveries wer
Three successive days were occupied by the
trates and crown officers in examining the old
seized at the *Canadian* Printing-Office. On
of March, three Canadian gentlemen of dist
were apprehended by a warrant, signed b
Members of the Executive Council and cast int
Three others in the district of Montreal † sh
same fate, under the indefinite charge of bein
of *treasonable practices*. These commitments we
under an annual act, entitled, "An act for th
preservation of his Majesty's Government,"
from the measures now related, fell into disrep
was not renewed after the present administrat
information of any importance resulted from th
made among the papers seized with the press;
hasty imprisonment of three reputable citizen
some colour to the tales of intended insurrect
were artfully circulated, and it was generally
stood, that government were in full possessio

* Messieurs Bedard, Blanchet and Taschereau, members
House of Assembly.

† Messieurs Laforce, (Notary Public,) Papineau of Chambl
bell, of Isle Jesus

the circumstances of the supposed conspiracy. There is however to this day, no satisfactory proof before the public of the slightest plan to subvert the government; and the reader, in the absence of even the lightest grounds to create such a presumption, as well as from the enlargement of the prisoners without any trial, is left to judge, whether the extraordinary and mysterious proceedings resorted to on the occasion, were the result of well grounded apprehension of public commotion, or merely to colour an act, which otherwise, cannot but be considered as an exertion of power.

On the 21st of March, the Governor issued a proclamation, *unique* in its kind, and somewhat verging on romance. In it he admonishes the Canadian subjects to beware of the arts (without furnishing any proof of their existence) employed by designing men, to mislead them. He expatiates on the benevolence of the mother country towards the colony, and on the paternal solicitude of his Sovereign and himself, for the promotion of its welfare. He descants upon the tales respecting himself, which he is informed have been circulated with a view to influence and deceive the people; and thus vehemently apostrophizes the supposed authors of them, 'base and daring fabricators of falsehood: on what part or act of my life do you found 'such assertions? Canadians, ask of those to whom you 'formerly looked with attention and respect: ask the 'heads of your church who have opportunities of 'knowing me. These are men of honor and knowledge; These are men from whom you ought to seek 'for information and advice: the leaders of faction; 'the demagogues of a party, associate not with me: 'they cannot know me.*

* See Appendix B.

The earnest spirit which flows through this production, shews the determination with which he intended to persevere in his measures, as they were evidently the result of a conscientious conviction on *his* mind of their expedience at this crisis. Messengers were dispatched in all directions throughout the Province to distribute copies of the proclamation ; and the sound of insurrection and rebellion in Canada, went abroad, and was echoed round the world, at a period, which does not even afford the solitary instance of a trial, much less a conviction, of a single individual in the colony, for treason or sedition. The clergy were summoned to support the administration on the present occasion, and the proclamation, in obedience to the wish of the executive, was published in some instances, in the church during divine service, in others at the church door after its conclusion. It was confidently expected by the public, that his Lordship the Catholic Bishop of Quebec, would on (Sunday) the day succeeding the issue of the proclamation, give a discourse suitable to the occasion. An eager multitude pressed into the Cathedral, but they were disappointed. The zealots took umbrage at the seeming indifference of the worthy Prelate. The Cathedral was on the Sunday following again crowded : the proclamation was read, and his Lordship delivered to some thousands of spectators an able and impressive discourse, suited to the complexion of the times : he adverted with becoming spirit, to the hasty zeal, which had induced some to condemn the supiness of the Clergy, who, he observed, were not less loyal, zealous and instructed in their duty towards their Sovereign, than at the period of the revolution of the neighbouring colonies, when the fidelity of the Canadian Catholic Clergy

had been irrefragably established. He expounded with clearness and precision, the duties of a subject and a christian, in the salutary submission to the laws, and to the constitued authorities of the land. From the state of the public mind at this juncture, the difficulty of reconciling parties, heated by a series of elections into that political animosity incidental to free governments, is easily conceived.

The Chief Justice at the opening of the Criminal Sessions in March, in delivering his charge to the Grand Jury, called their attention to the tendency of the occurrences, that had given room to the proclamation, which he read on the occasion. The Grand Jury, in answer to his speech, drew up an address to the Court, in which they animadverted strongly upon certain numbers of the *Canadian*, and other productions issuing from that press, as dangerous to the peace and security of the colony. They in like manner expressed their displeasure at divers productions in the *Quebec Mercury* calculated to excite jealousy and distrust in the minds of his Majesty's Canadian subjects, leaving it to the wisdom of the court to adopt such measures thereupon, as might be found expedient; and concluded by disclaiming a wish to encroach upon the genuine freedom of the press, but that the abuse of this inestimable privilege, which could only tend to a subversion of order, was the subject of their animadversion.*

In April, an ineffectual effort was made in the Court of King's Bench to obtain a *Habeas Corpus* for one of the gentlemen detained in prison, under suspicion of

* This presentment has (perhaps unjustly) been reproached as an act of cowardly compliance with power.

treasonable practices. The failure of this application left no alternative to the prisoners, who were left to pine in solitary confinement, until the Governor should be pleased to bring them to trial, or release them. In July following, one of the gentlemen confined in the jail at Quebec, became seriously ill from length of confinement, and was released by the Council: another was also shortly after released from the same cause; and the printer was in the month of August, also turned out of prison. They however, previous to their enlargement, gave security to appear to answer to such bill of indictment as might be afterwards found against them: a precaution probably intended to save appearances, no bill having ever afterwards been presented by the crown officers; nor does it appear that the Governor at any time seriously intended to risk the test of a *verdict* upon their guilt or innocence, which in the event of an acquittal, must have covered the administration with ignominy.

The September Session of the criminal court elapsed without any attention to the prisoner remaining in confinement* who solicitous for a trial, had repeatedly refused, with manly resolution, a precarious enlargement, without the opportunity of vindicating his reputation by the verdict of a jury. He maintained with inflexible perseverance, the integrity of his conduct and political opinions, and disclaimed the imputation of treason or disaffection to the person or government of his Sovereign; and the stern Viceroy himself has been heard to express an involuntary esteem for the consistency of his conduct.

The period at which we are arrived has been sarcas-

* Mr. Bedard.

tically termed the reign of terror. The peremptory measures of the Governor struck the opposition with dismay; but though he had suppressed, yet he had not effectually subdued the spirit of the people. The elections for the new Parliament took place in April, and the late members again prevailed, almost universally throughout the province.

The Judge upon whose account the present difficulties had originated, under the prospect of being called to the Legislative Council, did not present himself as a candidate in the county he had recently represented. He however was not afterwards called to the Legislative Council as he expected; and we are left to conjecture, whether he declined his re-election through a fallacious promise from the administration to that purpose, in order to induce him to retire, and by that means put an end to all strife with the Assembly on his account, or whether disgusted, with the intrigues and animosity of the times, he consulted his tranquillity by a voluntary retirement.

A pause ensued, in which all parties seemed desirous of repose from the fruitless contest in which they had been engaged. The prisoners confined at Montreal, where they had suffered all the inconveniencies and discomforts of a damp and unhealthy prison, and the severity of a surly janitor, were successively released. One of them* is said to have died of illness contracted during his imprisonment. The Governor in the mean time turned his attention to the improvement of the interior of the province, as well as to the cities of Quebec and Montreal; to which he appointed chairmen

* Mr. Corbeil.

to preside in the Courts of Quarter Sessions, with annual stipends. He caused a rode to be opened from St. Giles, in the vicinity of Quebec, to the township of Shipton, near the provincial boundary line; a distance of upwards of sixty miles, by a detachment of troops, which afforded a short and easy communication for the industrious settlers in the new townships, with the Quebec market.

The new Parliament met at Quebec on the 12th of December, 1810, and the House of Assembly having re-elected their former Speaker, the Governor after again approving of their choice, informed them by his speech, 'that as he had never doubted the loyalty 'and zeal of the several Parliaments which he had oc-'casion to meet since he assumed the administration of 'the government of the province: so he relied with 'equal assurance, that he would not fail to experience 'the same principles in that which he was then ad-'dressing; and that in the confident expectation that 'they were animated by the best intentions to pro-'mote the interests of his Majesty's government, and 'the welfare of his people; he should look for the 'happy effects of such a disposition in the tenor of 'their deliberations, and the dispatch of the public 'business.'

'I desire to call your attention (said he) to the tem-'porary act for the better preservation of his Majesty's 'government, as by law happily established in this 'province, and to that for establishing regulations re-'specting aliens, or certain subjects of his Majesty 'who have resided in France. No change has taken 'place in the state of the public affairs that can war-

'rant a departure from those precautions, and that vigi-
'lance which have hitherto induced all the branches
'of the Legislature to consider these acts as necessary.
'In saying that they are important to the interests of
'his Majesty's government, you will not, I am confi-
'dent, for a moment suppose, that I mean to divide
'these from the interests of the public: they are in-
'separable. The preservation of his Majesty's govern-
'ment is the safety of the province and its security, is
'the only safeguard to the public tranquility. Under
'these considerations I cannot therefore but recom-
'mend them, together with the act making temporary
'provisions for the regulation of trade between this pro-
'vince and the United States, to your first and imme-
'diate consideration.'

He intreated them to believe, 'that he should have
'great satisfaction in cultivating that harmony and
'good understanding which must be so conducive to the
'prosperity and happiness of the colony, and that he
'should most readily and cheerfully concur in every
'measure which they might propose, tending to pro-
'mote those important objects.' He concluded by observing 'that the rule of his conduct was to dis-
'charge his duty to his sovereign by a constant atten-
'tion to the welfare of his subjects which were com-
'mitted to his charge, and that he felt these objects
'to be promoted by a strict adherence to the laws, and
'to the principles of the constitutiou, and by main-
'taining in their just balance the rights and privileges
'of every branch of the legislature.'

Immediately after delivering his speech, he sent a message to the House by a member of the executive

Council, intimating that Mr. Bedard, returned to serve as a member for the county of Surrey, was detained in the common jail for the district of Quebec, under a warrant of three members of his Majesty's Executive Council, by virtue of the act 'for the better preserva-'tion of his Majesty's government as by law happily established in this province,' for treasonable practices. It was evident from the tenor of the Governor's Speech, and his subsequent message to the House, that the renewal of this unpopular act would be insisted upon by the administration at all hazards. The sentiments of the majority of the House were without doubt, entirely averse to the recent measures of the administration. To renew the obnoxious act would be at once an unequivocal admission on their part, of its expedience, and of the propriety of its recent operation. On the other hand, a refusal might embroil them more then ever with the executive, and result in consequences fatal to the tranquillity of the colony. The example of the two preceding parliaments was still fresh in their memory, and the inflexible consistency of the Governor's character had overcome the firmness of the House. They observed in their address to the Governor, in answer to his speech 'that they concurred with his Excellency, that no change had taken place in the public affairs abroad, that would warrant an alteration of the provisions of the provincial temperary act, which provided for the better preservation of his Majesty's government; yet that they thought it their duty to inform his Excellency, that the fears and apprehensions which prevailed among a great number of his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects in consequence of the execution of this act, would demand their serious consideration before they could determine

if its continuation in the whole of its present form and tenor, would insure that confidence between his Majesty's government and his subjects in Canada, which is the safeguard of the former, and of the interests of the public, in themselves inseparable.' They however pledged themselves that the present act and that respecting aliens, would become the object of their most serious consideration 'fully convinced (said they) that it is the most serious wish of your Excellency to cultivate that harmony and good understanding which is so conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the colony, we shall cheerfully concur in any measure tending to promote those important objects; objects (they observed) more difficult to be obtained in this province than in any other of his Majesty's colonies, from the difference in opinions, customs and prejudices of his Majesty's subjects residing therein. We reflect with pain on the efforts which are made to represent in false colours, and in a measure wide of truth, the opinions and sentiments of the different classes of his Majesty's subjects in Canada. Following your Excellency's example, let every one fulfil his duty to our august Sovereign by an unremitting attention to the interests and happiness of his subjects in this colony, and he will feel that a strict adherence to the laws and principles of the constitution, and a firm support of the equal rights and principles of every branch of the legislature, are the means of securing to his Majesty's subjects, the full and entire enjoyment of their liberty, religious opinions, and property, and which cannot be more perfectly confirmed to them than by the free constitution, which it has pleased his most gracious Majesty and his Parliament to grant to this province.'

Words can scarcely imply a more direct disapproval

of the recent measures of the Governor, who felt the force of their reflections, and replied in a way which left no room in their minds to doubt of his earnest resolution to prosecute the renewal of the act in question. He returned them his acknowledgements for the sentiments of loyalty, and the good intentions to promote the interests of his Majesty's government, and the welfare of their fellow subjects, expressed in their address. 'I shall at all times (said he) receive with attention any 'information or advice that the House of Assembly may 'think proper to convey to me: in the present instance, 'however, I feel myself called on to observe, that my 'information of the state of the province does not war- 'rant that which you say you think it your duty to give 'me, of the existence of fears and apprehensions, with 'relation to the execution of the act for the better pre- 'servation of his Majesty's government, at least as ap- 'plied to the people in general. If such fears and ap- 'prehensions exist, are they not confined to those who 'are aware of the possibility of themselves becoming 'obnoxious to the operation of the act; the voice 'of such will be always loud; and may not their cla- 'mor have misled you to suppose them more numerous 'than I suppose they really are? But with regard to the 'good people of the Province, I am so far from think- 'ing that they feel any apprehensions on the subject, 'that I date the subsiding of the ferment that then 'existed, and the restoration of the calm that has since 'prevailed among them, precisely from the moment 'at which the execution of that act took place. Sim- 'ilar means to those formerly employed might again 'revive the one, and disturb the other, and none 'perhaps would be more effectual for the purpose 'then infusing amongst them, the fears and appre-

'hensions to which you have alluded. Simple and 'uninstructed as they are however, I shall trust 'to their good sense for its being found difficult to 'shake their confidence in His Majesty's Govern-'ment, because they find it exercising for their protec-'tion, the means with which it is intrusted by Law, or 'because they see that Government armed with the 'power, and ready to step forward should it be neces-'sary to crush the arts of faction, or to meet the ma-'chination of treason. Viewing your Address in the 'light of an answer to my speech, I must remark that 'I have been misunderstood in it.

'The harmony and good understanding which I ex-'pressed myself desirous of cultivating, was that har-'mony and good understanding between me and the 'other branches of the Legislature which must be so con-'ducive to the prosperity and happiness of the Colony. 'Whereas I perceive you have applied the expression 'more generally to the existence of these principles in the 'community at large. This would be no otherwise of 'consequence than as it has furnished you with the op-'portunity of bringing forward a sentiment in which I 'desire most cordially and truly to express my entire 'concurrence. I shall join with you in feeling pain in 'every instance in which the passions of any one part 'of His Majesty's subjects shall lead them to repre-'sent in false colours, and in a manner wide of truth, 'the opinions and sentiments of any part of their fel-'low subjects. Without any reference to example, let 'every one as you say do his duty to the King and to 'the Public, and as you express yourselves aware of 'the greater difficulty that exists in this Province in 'the attainment of the important object in question, so

'I confidently trust I shall find you on all occasions 'exerting with advantage the superior opportunity 'which is afforded you by your situation as represen-'tatives of the people for promoting and cultivating 'those true principles of affection and attachment that 'may unite us as a free and happy people.'

This sarcastic reply of the Governor nettled the House but they were too well acquainted with his firmness to proceed to extremes on so nice a point. The acts recommended by the Governor were first introduced and passed in the Legislative Council, from whence they were sent down to the Lower House, where they passed with unusual speed, although the detention of one of their members in Prison was the cause of much murmur and disgust. This obnoxious act was therefore reluctantly continued with a salvo (an amendment introduced into the Bill by the Lower House) of the Rights and Privileges of either House, and of the Members of the Provincial Legislature; it being thereby provided that no Member of either House should be imprisoned or detained during the sitting of Parliament, until the matter of which he stood suspected were first communicated to the House of which he might be a member, and the consent of that House obtained for his commitment or detention. It was obvious that the Assembly in this instance yielded to the menacing tone of the Administration who must have been conscious from the recent exercise of this act for the "better preservation of His Majesty's Government" and the reluctance with which it was continued for another year, that its total extinction could not be a remote occurrence. The Government notwithstanding this clause in the act, still persisted in

detaining the members in confinement during the Session without affording him the means of justifying himself by a trial.

A bill to disqualify Judges from being elected and taking a seat in the House of Assembly was introduced, and having met the concurrence of both Houses received the Royal Sanction. This subject of strife being disposed of, business was carried on with diligence and dispatch, and some very useful laws were enacted in the course of the Session. The Governor was in the mean time notified of his removal from the colonial Government in pursuance (it was said) of his own request. On the 21st March, 1811, he progued the Parliament, and as his speech on the occasion, is the best testimony to which we can resort for his own opinion on the character of the times, and of his administration, we insert a part of it in his own words.

'Among the acts to which I have declared his Ma-
'jesty Assent, there is one which I have seen with pe-
'culiar satisfaction. I mean the act for disqualifying
'the judges from holding a seat in the House of As-
'sembly. It is not only that I think the measure right
'in itself, but that I consider the passing an act for
'the purpose, as a complete renunciation of the erro-
'neous principle, the acting upon which, put me under
'the necessity of dissolving the last Parliament.

'Gentlemen, you are now about to return to your homes, and to mix again in the common mass of your fellow citizens: let me entreat you to reflect upon the good that may arise from your efforts to inculcate those true principles of regularity and submission to

the laws, that can alone give stability to that degree of happiness, which is attainable in the present state of society. Your province is in an unexampled progress of prosperity: riches are pouring in upon the people, but their attendant evils, luxury and dissipation, will inevitably accompany them: the danger of these is too well known to require that I should detain you by enlarging upon it: it will demand all the efforts of religion, and of the magistracy, with the scarcely less powerful influence of example and of advice in the well disposed and better informed, to counteract their effects, to preserve the public morals from sudden relaxation, and, finally, to bar the entry to crime and depravity.

'A large tract of country, hitherto little known, has been opened to you; its inhabitants are industrious and intelligent, and they cultivate their lands with a productive energy, well calculated to encrease the resources of the colony. Let them not on these grounds be objects of envy, or of jealousy; rather let them be examples, to be carefully watched and imitated, 'till, in the whole province, no other difference of fertility shall appear, but what may arise from variety of soil, or difference of climate.

'And now gentlemen, I have only further to recommend, that as, in an early part of the session, you yourselves took occasion to observe on the difficulty of the task, you will proportionally exert your best endeavours to do away all mistrust and animosity from among yourselves:—while these are suffered to remain, all exertion for the public good must be palsied. No bar can exist to a cordial union—religious differences present none—intolerance is not the disposition of the

present times—and, living under one government, enjoying equally its protection and its fostering care, in the mutual intercourse of kindness and benevolence, all others will be found to be ideal. I am earnest in this advice, gentlemen. It is probably the last legacy of a very sincere well-wisher, who, if he lives to reach the presence of his Sovereign, would indeed present himself with the proud certainty of obtaining his approbation, if he could conclude his report of his administration, with saying—I found, Sire, the portion of your subjects that you committed to my charge, divided among themselves, viewing each other with mistrust and jealousy, and animated, as they supposed, by separate interests. I left them, Sire, cordially united in the bonds of reciprocal esteem and confidence, and rivalling each other only in affectionate attachment to your majesty's government, and in generous exertions for the public good.'

In this, as well as in his former speeches to the legislature, we find the sentiments of a man of frankness and of character. Although he is thought by many to have been under the influence of party, he was certainly unconscious of it, as nothing appears to have been more despicable in his mind than party intrigue.

Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament the prison door was left open to the member in confinement, without any explanation of the cause of his imprisonment, or of the motives of his enlargement. By some, his release was attributed to orders from his Majesty's ministers to that effect; by others to a conviction in the mind of the Governor of his innocence, or at least, of his having made ample atonement for his errors (if any) by the length and duresse of his confinement.

On the 19th of June 1811, he embarked on board His Majesty's Ship Amelia, for England; leaving Mr. Dunn in charge of the Government of the colony, and Lieutenant-General Drummond in command of the forces in the Canadas, consisting of 445 artillery, 3,783 regular troops, and 1,226 Fencibles, in all 5,454 men. He seemed disgusted with the cares of a government, in which he had experienced but crosses and mortification. He is said to have expressed at the moment of his departure, an ambiguous reflection on the deception, and ingratitude of mankind: whether his observation were intended to be general, or aimed at some of those immediately concerned with him in the conduct of public affairs, we are left to imagine. His health had long been wasting away with a dropsy and other infirmities contracted in the service of his country, and he doubted whether he should live to see the end of his voyage, which he however survived some months. The feelings of the public were, upon his departure for England, variously expressed, according to the opinions and prejudices of parties, which, under his administration had been inflamed to a greater pitch than at any former period since the conquest. His administration was certainly unpopular among the great mass of the people; and although tenacious of and consistent in his measures, he was evidently influenced by the councils originating in timid and vissionary apprehensions of danger. The severity of his measures gave just grounds to expect some conclucive evidence of the guilt of those who had concurred his displeasure, but we have not even seen an attempt to palliate that exercise of power, which in the total absence of any vindication of its expedience, we must attribute to the fervour of party heat. Rigorous as they were

they might have been rendered still more so, had the Governor been less sensible of the general good disposition of the colony, or listened more to the suggestions of those who had involved him imperceptibly in their quarrel with the people. The Proclamation issued at the period alluded to, shews the conviction under which we may fairly believe him to have acted; but when we reflect upon the animosity of the times, we have cause to suspect, that the sources from whence his information was derived, are liable to some objections, which however, it must have been difficult, nay, almost impossible for him to have discriminated until it was too late. On the eve of his departure, an action of damages was instituted on the part of several of the proprietors of the *Canadian* press, against the magistrate who had seized it. This action proved abortive. The fact is mentioned, as it must have caused the Governor to reflect, that although he had put down with force, the animosities which agitated his administration, he had struck a blow, probably more important in its results, than the most hostile adversaries of his administration could have wished.

Sir JAMES HENRY CRAIG had been from his youth in the service of his country, and owed to merit alone, his rank and consideration in the army. He had upon several occasions distinguished himself as an able general. He was corpulent in person, and rather below the middle stature: his features were strong and regular, his aspect severe and imposing: his deportment was manly and dignified: in society he was polite, frank and affable. He is said to have been positive in his opinions, and therefore prompt and decisive in his measures. To a clear and comprehensive judgment, he united the best qualities of the heart; and though

hasty in temper, he was easily reconciled to those who might have involuntarily incurred his displeasure. In fine, he seems to have possessed all the sterling and undisguised virtues that distinguish the soldier, and some of the qualities that constitute an able statesman. Men differ widely in opinion with respect to his administration, yet few will deny him the merit of disinterestedness and integrity in the discharge of his public duties; and although in the performance of the important and complicated functions of his post, he may have erred, we cannot but do his memory the justice to believe, that he was guided by sincerity; and that the objects of his administration, however fallacious the means he pursued for their attainment, were the concord, the prosperity and the happiness of the people intrusted to his care.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Sir George Prevost. Major General Brock assumes the government of Upper-Canada. The Governor makes the tour of the Upper-District. Meeting of the Provincial Parliament. Proceedings of the Assembly. Prorogation. Henry's Mission. Militia Embodied. Declaration of War by America: Governor Assembles the Legislature. Army Bill Act. Riot at Lachine. Capture of Michillimackinac. Invasion of Upper-Canada. Retreat of the Enemy. Battle of Maguago. Capture of Detroit. Armistice. Its rejection by the American Government.

AFTER an interregnum of nearly three months, Sir GEORGE PREVOST arrived at Quebec, and assumed the Government of Lower-Canada, having succeeded Sir JAMES H. CRAIG in the chief command of the British North American Provinces. The known mildness of his character, and the popularity of his administration in Nova-Scotia, from which he had been just promoted, afforded a hope that the present administration of the government in Lower-Canada would prove more auspicious to the internal union of the people than the preceding.* The trying juncture into which the policy of America hurried these provinces, impressed the people with serious apprehensions, and all parties seemed to concur in a desire for unanimity, as the chief barrier of the public security.

To succeed in abolishing the strife which had so rapidly gained ground during the late administration could scarcely have been deemed attainable; but an indifference and disregard for party animosity, and

a fair, impartial distribution of the royal confidence, might in a moment of common danger, reconcile and unite parties in the common defence. Such seems to have been the policy studied by the present administration. A war with Great Britain had been long contemplated by the rulers in America, and a seasonable moment only was sought for, to grasp at these provinces which they had fallaciously been induced to believe were ripe for revolt, and would therefore fall a willing conquest to America. The peninsular war had engrossed the attention and resources of the mother country, and the Canadas were necessarily the less amply provided with means to encounter the struggle in which they were likely soon to be engaged. The coffers were exhausted, nor were hopes entertained of their being speedily replenished from home: the regular forces were too thin to preserve an extensive frontier of some hundred miles against the pressure of an enemy, which, if united, must become irresistable, and the Canadians though naturally brave and hardy, and attached to their constitution, might from recent occurrences be fairly presumed to have been so far disgusted, as to leave a doubt of their hearty co-operation and zeal in the cause. Such was the gloomy prospect of affairs at the outset of the present administration, and the Governor must have foreseen that his resources in the event of a rupture with America, lay more in the loyalty and patriotism of the Canadian population, than in the hope of early reinforcements from home. To develope the resources and combine the jarring energies of the country, required the efforts of something more than ordinary genius.

Soon after the Governor's arrival, General Brock

was appointed President and Administrator of the Government in Upper-Canada, instead of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, had who retired from the Government of that Province, by permission. To obtain a local knowledge of the frontiers of the lower province which were likely soon to be the theatre of war, Sir George on the 26th September set out with his suit and visited the District of Montreal, and the forts of St. John's, Chambly, William Henry and the military positions in their neighbourhood. From the period of his arrival until the opening of Parliament, we meet with no extraordinary occurrence.

The Parliament met on the 21st February, 1812. The Governor in his speech informed the legislature, that having been appointed by the Prince Regent to the Chief Command of the British American Provinces, he had hastened in obedience to his orders to assume the Administration of Lower-Canada, but that his Commission not having arrived, he continued to administer the Government under a provincial authority to that effect. He congratulated them on the brilliant achievements which had attended the British arms in the deliverance of Portugal, and for the rescue of Spain from the tyranny of the Ruler of France. 'Notwithstanding (said he) the astonishing changes that mark 'the age in which we live, the inhabitants of this portion of the Empire have witnessed, but as remote 'spectators the awful scenes which desolate Europe; 'and while Britain 'built by nature for herself against 'infection and the hand of war,' has had her political 'existence involved in the fate of surrounding nations, 'you have hitherto, undisturbed in the habitations of 'your fathers, viewed without alarm, the distant storm 'which now seems bending its course towards this peace-

'ful & happy region.' He recommended an increased and unremitted care and vigilance in securing the colony from either open invasion or insidious aggression, and he hoped the Parliament would testify its loyalty by an early attention to those acts, which experience had proved essential for the preservation of his Majesty's government, as also by its readiness in supplying government with such aid as should be suitable to the exigence of the times, by enabling the loyal Canadian subjects to assist in repelling any sudden attack made by a tumultuary force, and effectually to participate in the defence of their country, against a regular invasion at any future period. The Assembly in answer, assured the Governor that they would give their attention to those acts, which he regarded as essential to His Majesty's government, notwithstanding the repugnance they might feel from an improper use of one of them,* and the bad effects which might have resulted therefrom to his Majesty's government, had it not been for the unshaken fidelity of his Majesty's loyal Canadian subjects, and their conviction of the goodness of his government, and the transient inconveniencies which from the common fate of human things were inevitable; assuring him however, that the confidence they placed in his Excellency, considerably diminished their fears of the use, which might thereafter be made of this act. In reply to this, the Governor briefly expressed his regret, that they should have thought it expedient to revert to any proceedings which had taken place under any one of these acts, and earnestly recommended to them as the most effectual means of ensuring tranquillity to the Province, and of evincing their zeal for the

* Meaning the "Act for the better preservation of His Majesty's Government."

public good, to direct their attention solely to the present situation of affairs. Although the meaning of the Governor's reply could not be misunderstood by the Assembly, they were too deeply concerned in the events of the last administration to leave them at rest, and at an advanced period of the Session, they came to the resolution, 'that it was a justice due to the good character of his Majesty's Canadian subjects, that some 'measure should be adopted by the House, to acquaint 'his Majesty of the events that took place in the Province under the administration of Sir James Henry 'Craig, its late Governor, and the causes which gave 'rise to the same, in order that his Majesty, in his paternal goodness, might take such steps as would prevent 'a recurrence of a similar administration, which tended to misrepresent the good and faithful people of the 'Province, and to deprive them of the confidence and 'affection of his Majesty, and from feeling the good effects of his government in the ample manner that the 'law provided.' This resolution was not carried into effect owing to the intervention of more urgent concerns. In the mean time a bill, 'for the better preservation of his Majesty's government' was drawn up, and sent down from the Legislative Council to the Lower House. Here several amendments were proposed, the principal of which was, to transfer the power formerly vested in the Executive Council, of imprisoning persons suspected of treasonable practices, to the Governor, or person administering the government, alone. The Legislative Council disapproving of the amendments, a conference ensued; but both branches persevering in their opinions, the bill miscarried to the satisfaction of the Lower House, who were glad of a pretext to allow this odious law to expire. The consideration of appoint-

ing an agent in England was resumed by the House in the present session, and the expedience of providing a fund for the payment of the Members of the House of Assembly was also discussed, and a Bill was introduced to that effect, which however failed. The Militia Bill passed after much debate in the Lower House. The Governor was authorised by it to embody two thousand Bachelors between the age of eighteen and twenty-five years for three months in the year; and in case of invasion or imminent danger thereof, to retain them for one year, relieving one half of the number embodied, by fresh drafts at the expiration of that period. In the event of war, invasion, insurrection, or imminent danger thereof, he was empowered to embody the whole militia of the province, should it become necessary. No substitutes were allowed, nor were commissioned officers permitted to take any militiamen as servants, under a penalty of ten pounds for every offence of that nature. These provisions from their harshness and inconsistency were however winked at in actual service. It was made penal to inlist any militiamen into the regular forces, and such enlistments were declared null. Twelve thousand pounds were granted by the Legislature, one moiety thereof for drilling and training the local militia, the other moiety for other purposes of the militia act. Twenty thousand pounds were granted, to be employed for such services as the safety of the province, and the exigence of the times might require, and the further Sum of thirty thousand pounds currency, to be at the Governor's disposal in case of war between Great Britain and America. These liberal supplies enabled the Government to meet the approaching contest with confidence in the patriotism and support of the provincial Legis-

ature, and of the whole mass of the Canadian population. On the nineteenth of May the Governor prorogued the House of Assembly.

In his Speech he thanked the House for the labour they had bestowed upon the improvement of the militia system, and for the increased means they had thereby afforded him for the defence of the Province: He also expressed his best thanks for the proofs he had received of their confidence in his Administration, by the very liberal provision they had made for the exigencies of the public service.

About this time a ferment existed in America, excited by the discovery of the *Henry Plot*, which the Government of that Country exaggerated into an attempt on the part of this Government to bring about a revolution among the eastern states, and to dissolve the union. John Henry, a needy adventurer, though a man of some talents and address, is said to have been by birth an Irishman, and to have emigrated when a youth to America, where, through the interest of friends he was appointed a Captain in the militia, and from thence bore the name of Captain Henry. Not succeeding in America to the extent of his wishes, he migrated to Montreal, where he found means to ingratiate himself with some of the principal personages of this Province, and commenced his studies at law, with a view of qualifying himself for a seat in the judiciary of Upper Canada, to which, he was already ambitious enough to aspire. He easily worked himself by intrigue into the Governor's notice, who, from the proceedings of the Federal Faction in the eastern states, had room to suspect the existence of a desire on their

part, to form a political connection with Great Britain. In order therefore to ascertain the state of parties and their views, Henry, being acquainted with the country, and considered a man accomplished for political intrigue, was selected, who, with a view of turning it to his advantage, readily accepted of the mission, and proceeded to Boston, where he sauntered away his time in the public houses and brothels of that city, writing from time to time to Canada.* His studied and ostentatious epistles, must rather have amused than instructed the Governor, who indeed, derived less information from them, than from the public journals of the times. Henry, however estimated his services much beyond any thing his employer was disposed to admit of, and therefore resorted for a compensation to the Government at home. In a Memorial to Lord Liverpool, stating his services, he suggested that the appointment of Judge Advocate General of Lower Canada, with the salary of five hundred pounds per annum, or a Consulate in the United States *sine cura*, would be considered by him as a liberal discharge of any obligation that Government entertained in relation to his services. The prudent Minister held the royal favors in too high estimation to prostitute them upon a mercenary and intriguing vagrant, and coolly referred him to the colonial Government, then in charge of Sir George Prevost. The proud spirit, or perhaps the indigence of the adventurer, could not brook the delay and indifference of the Minister, who, he clearly saw, by referring him to the colonial government, only wished to evade a direct refusal to his application. Chargrined with disappointment, he made his way to America, where (as it is confidentially said)

* This happened in the course of the winter of 1809.

upon receiving a stipulated sum, he, in resentment to the British, delivered up his correspondence to the American Government. The *Henry Plot* (it was so denominated) was clamoured through America, as a crime of the deepest dye on the part of Great Britain, tending to disorganise the Government, to dismember the union, and to destroy the independence of the States. The fictious and exaggerated importance which the American Government affected to attach to this trivial matter, had however, some influence in confirming the spirit of hostility towards Great Britain which, at that time pervaded America, and shortly after broke out in open war. This self-sufficient miscreant having as he fancied, taken ample vengeance upon the government of his native country, could not with any degree of decency remain in the States, from whence he sailed for France in an American sloop of war, carrying with him the reward of his treason, and the universal contempt of mankind.

The Governor by a General Order of the 28th May organized four battalions of embodied militia, in virtue of the late Act. The first Battalion rendezvous'd at Point aux Trembles near Quebec, under the Command of Colonel De Salaberry, the second, at Laprairie near Montreal, commanded by Colonel De Rouville, the third, at Berthier in the District of Montreal, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Cuthbert, and the fourth, at St. Thomas near Quebec, commanded by Lieutenant Colonal Taschereau. The alacrity with which they were filled, and the cheerfulness with which the young men submitted to the restraints of discipline, reflected credit upon the military character of the Canadians. This proof of the zeal and the loyalty of the

people must have inspired Government with hopes of a successful resistance against the approaching war, and a reciprocal confidence between the Governor and the people seems to have resulted as much from the the danger of the moment, as from any studied policy on the part of the present administration. They who had incurred the displeasure of the late Governor were treated with confidence, and gradually appointed to situations of trust. A Regiment of Canadian Voltigeurs was recruited, and placed under the command of Major De Salaberry of the 60th regiment of foot, which in the course of the war became eminent for discipline, and its steadiness in action, as well as for the fatiguing duties on which it was unremittingly employed.

Declaration of War by America.

On the 18th June, the American Government declared War against Great Britain, and on the 24th, the event was known at Quebec, where it caused an immediate stagnation in business. The Province was however now in some measure prepared for defence: yet so bold a measure on the part of America necessarily created a belief that the cabinet of Washington must have relied upon some unknown resources, which when developed for action, would secure the conquest of these colonies. A notification was immediately made by the police, that all American citizens must leave Quebec by the first of July, and be out of that district on the third of the same month. On the last day of June, the period was extended by the Governor's proclamation: fourteen days were allowed to such Americans as were in the province, they being principally persons who had entered the same in good faith, and in the prosecution of com-

mercial pursuits. On the same day, proclamations issued imposing an embargo upon the shipping in the port, and convoking the House of Assembly on the 16th of July.

At the opening of the Session, the Governor, after briefly informing the Parliament of the recent declaration of war by America, said, he relied upon the spirit of his Majesty's subjects in the province, their attachment and zeal for the religion of their forefathers, their loyalty to their Sovereign, and their ardent love for the true interests of their country; and that he should depend implicitly under divine providence, upon their best exertions, aided by the courage and loyalty of the militia, and by the valour, skill, and discipline of His Majesty's regular forces, for repelling every hostile attempt that might be made upon the colony. He observed with concern that the necessary establishment of the Militia Forces, together with the various services and operations of the approaching campaign, would be attended with considerable expence, but that he relied upon their wisdom and public spirit, for such supplies as the exigencies of affairs might be found to require: he at the same time expressed his approbation of the embodied militia, and his confidence in their increasing discipline, which encouraged an expectation that they would materially contribute to the defence of their country.

The public coffers being entirely drained, the Governor, to obviate the deficiency, resolved to issue Army Bills payable either in cash, or in Government Bills of Exchange on London, but the concurrence of the Legislature in this measure was indispensable, as well

to insure their currency, as to provide funds for the payment of the interest that might become due upon them. Two private and confidential Messages were sent to the House of Assembly by the Governor; one, submitting to its consideration the necessity of immediately strengthening the hands of government, by arming him with authority to suppress any attempt to produce disorder or insubordination, and for immediate punishment of any offences which might interrupt or endanger the public tranquillity, which he trusted the Legislature would have the less hesitation in doing, from its conviction that he could at all times, by virtue of his commission, avail himself of the power of declaring martial law to its fullest extent; and from the persuasion which he trusted was entertained by the House, that in seeking from them a partial exercise of it, he could have no other object in view than the preservation of the tranquillity and welfare of the province, with the least possible injury to the public convenience. The other represented the want of specie to satisfy the demands of the increasing militia and military establishments, and the impossibility of procuring money to the extent required for government bills of exchange. He at the same time laid before the House, an opinion and advice of the Executive Council, as to the most effectual mode of resource from which a deficiency in the circulating medium might be supplied, recommending the issue of Army Bills under certain conditions to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds currency. He therefore called upon the House of Assembly for such aid as might be deemed expedient for the accomplishment of an object, rendered more peculiarly important by the present extraordinary crisis of public affairs, and strongly recom-

mended to them the adoption of such measures as should inspire confidence in the persons taking these bills, and guard both the public and individuals against the possibility of any loss to arise from them.

The House of Assembly appears from its silence on the subject of the former message, to have cautiously declined any measure tending to sanction a recurrence to martial law, or at least, to have left the responsibility with the Governor, of exercising in the event of need, those powers with which he thought himself vested in virtue of his commission: the same House however in the following session resolved that martial law could not be legally resorted to, unless with the authority of the Provincial Parliament.

A Bill to facilitate the circulation of Army Bills was introduced, and the liberality of the House of Assembly surpassed the hopes of the Executive. Fifteen thousand pounds were granted to pay the interest that might become due upon Army Bills, of which two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were authorized to be put in circulation, (large Bills of twenty-five dollars, and upwards, bearing interest at the rate of four pence per day for every one hundred pounds.) They were made current in the Revenue, were to have the effect of a legal tender, and were redeemable at the Army Bill Office, either in cash, or Government Bills of Exchange on London, at the option of the commander of the forces. Small bills of four dollars were at all times payable in cash at the Army Bill Office. All contracts in which any distinction should be made between Army Bills and cash, were to be void; and at the expiration of five years, all those who might then be holders

of such Army Bills, were entitled to receive the amount of the same with interest due upon them, out of the Provincial Treasury. To defray the expence of the Army Bill Office in issuing, circulating and concealing the Army Bills, the Legislature also granted the further sum of two thousand five hundred pounds per annum. On the first day of August 1812, this Bill received the Royal Sanction, and the Governor prorogued the Parliament, with acknowledgements for the liberal aid they had granted him, to meet the exigencies of the public service. This seasonable provision of the Legislature, at once enabled government to meet the demands of the public service, and revived the public spirit. A want of means at so urgent a crisis must have paralysed the energies of government, and this circumstance alone, might have created a doubt in the minds of the Canadians, of the indifference of the mother country towards the colony, that would have induced a despondency fatal to these provinces.

In the mean time the cities of Quebec and Montreal assumed a military aspect. The sedentary militia regularly attended drill and exercise; and all classes manifested an ardent zeal for the public service, verging upon enthusiasm. On the 5th of July, (the regular troops having previously left Quebec for the district of Montreal) the sedentary militia of Quebec commenced garrison duty, and the Montreal militia soon followed the example. On the 6th, the whole militia of the province, were, by a general order, commanded to hold themselves in readiness to be embodied, and march to such points as might be requisite for the defence of the province; and the flank companies of the Montreal militia, were formed into a battalion and armed.

Riots at La-Chine.

A riot which occurred in the neighbourhood of Montreal at this time, the progress whereof, was however promptly checked by the interposition of the military, deserves to be mentioned. Some young men who had been drafted into the embodied militia from the parish of Point Claire, refused to join the battalion into which they were drafted: four of the delinquents were apprehended after some opposition by their adherents, who having rescued one, threatened to assemble and proceed to Laprairie, and bring away such of their friends as had already joined the embodied militia at that depot. On the ensuing day, a mob assembled at Lachine, to the number of between three and four hundred (some estimate them at a greater number,) of whom, nearly eighty were armed with fusils and fowling pieces: being deaf to remonstrance, it was judged expedient to call out the military, and accordingly the light company of the 49th regiment, and a detachment of artillery with two field pieces, under the command of Major Plenderleath, proceeded from Montreal, accompanied with a magistrate; who upon arriving at Lachine, remonstrated with the rioters upon their misconduct. They, in answer, gave him to understand, that they were informed the militia bill had not been sanctioned by the Governor and Legislative Council, and that necessarily, the militia law was not in force. They, however, with repeated shouts of *Vive le Roi*, declared they were ready, one and all, to serve the King against the common enemy, should the Governor call for their services.—The ferment was already too high, to hope for any advantage from argument. The Riot Act being therefore read, the magistrate ordered them to disperse, and upon their refusing to comply, a round shot was

fired by the artillery, too high to do injury, in order to intimidate them. This was instantly returned by the mob in a spirited manner, with small arms: a volley was then fired by the troops with grape and small arms, but still purposely too elevated to do any harm: this was also returned by the mob. From this determined resistance, decision became absolutely necessary, and the troops were ordered to direct their fire against the rioters who almost immediately dispersed, keeping up a straggling fire from the bushes, and concealed by the darkness, which began to set in. One man was found dead, and another dangerously wounded. A few prisoners were taken and sent to Montreal. On the following day a detachment of the Montreal militia, consisting of four hundred and fifty men, marched for Point Claire, and from thence to St. Lawrent, in the rear of the Island of Montreal, and brought into town, twenty-four of the delinquents, who, with thirteen already in custody, made thirty-seven in all. Many others came into Montreal to crave the Governor's pardon, which, after reproving their misconduct and pointing out the danger wherein they had placed themselves, he granted, upon condition of their giving up the deserters of the embodied militia, and declaring the ringleaders of the riot. Twelve or fourteen of these deluded men were afterwards brought to trial and convicted of rioting, and were condemned to fines and imprisonment.

Hostilities had in the mean time commenced in Upper Canada, and the most brilliant success dawned upon the British arms in that quarter. Captain Roberts who was stationed at the small post or block house of St. Joseph's, situated on an Island in Lake Huron,

to the north west of Mackinac, and at about forty-five miles distant, on the eighth of July received from Gen. Brock, commanding in Upper Canada, a notification dated on the 26th June, of the declaration of war, with orders to make an immediate attack upon Mackinac if practicable; or, in the event of an attack by the Americans upon St. Joseph's, to defend it to the utmost, or retreat upon St. Mary's, a post belonging to the North-West Company at no great distance, and to make the best possible defence. He at the same time received from that officer, another letter dated the 27th June, suspending the orders given in the former letter, from his uncertainty of the declaration of war. On the 11th of July, he again received despatches from Sir George Prevost, dated at Quebec on the 25th June, and from General Brock dated at Fort George in Upper Canada, on the 28th June; the former of these notifying the war, and directing him to take every precaution to secure his post against any attempt by the enemy, and to render every assistance in his power consistent with the service, to secure the interests of the North West Company, and in case of necessity to effect his retreat. By the latter, General Brock, being sufficiently informed of the declaration of war by America against Great Britain, desired Captain Roberts to adopt the most prompt and effectual measures to possess himself of Mackinac, and directed him, in order to effect his purpose, to call to his assistance the Indians within his influence, as well as the gentlemen and dependants of the North West and South West Companies, who might be at, or near his post. The contrariety of instructions from the two General Officers, with the great hazard in attempting to seize upon a post of the strength and importance of Mackinac to the United States, which there

was reason to presume, had prepared that post against any emergency, could not fail to perplex Captain Roberts, who, not only, was totally unprepared for an expedition of such moment, but being in a wild and uninhabited country, was also, at too great a distance from resources to maintain even his own post against the enemy, in the event of failure in the present enterprise. He, however, with a promptitude and decision which reflects honor upon his military character, determined to attack Mackinac; and having communicated his intentions to Mr. Pothier, a gentleman of the South West Company, then at St. Joseph's, he was confirmed in his resolution, by the approbation and zeal with which Mr. P. concurred in the enterprise; who, to facilitate it, generously threw open the stores of the company, and laid every thing in them that could contribute to its success, at the disposal of capt. Roberts. He at the same time volunteered his personal services upon the expedition, attended with about one hundred and sixty Canadian Voyageurs, one half of whom were armed with muskets and fowling pieces.—On the 15th July, capt. Roberts had prepared his little armament, consisting of thirty regulars, with two artillery men and a serjeant, one hundred and sixty Canadians, and two iron field pieces, neither of which in an emergency could be of much service; when an express arrived with a despatch from General Brock, of the fourth of the same month, leaving it entirely at his discretion to adopt either offensive or defensive measures, as prudence might dictate. From this last despatch, coupled with his instructions from the Commander of the forces, of the 25th of June, in which no allusion was made to an attempt upon Mackinac, capt. Roberts felt that the whole responsibility of the

enterprise devolved upon himself, and that incalculable evil must result to the Upper Province in the event of failure. Finding his men in high spirits, he was determined to persevere at all events, and on the 16th of July he set out with his flotilla of boats and canoes, convoyed by the Caledonia brig belonging to the North West Company, loaded with stores and provisions. On the ensuing morning, he effected his landing before Mackinac without opposition, and immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, which, after a few minutes, was complied with, without the effusion of a drop of blood.

Capture of Mackinac.

Capt. Roberts in resolving upon an attack against Mackinac, had imposed an embargo upon all boats and canoes at St. Joseph's, by which means all communication was cut off, nor had the American officer any certain intelligence of the declaration of war previous to the arrival of the British before Mackinac.* A quantity of military stores of every description suitable for the Indian trade was found in the fort. Two vessels, loaded with furs, not aware of the capture, were decoyed into Mackinac, but the property was restored to the proprietors, by order of a board of claims afterwards held at Montreal, at which Major General De Rottenburgh presided. This achievement, effected by the promptitude and judicious arrangements of capt. R. not only inspired the people with confidence, and gave a turn to the present campaign fatal to the views of America, by enabling us to maintain our influence among the Indian nations of the West, which otherwise must have been lost, which essentially con-

* The garrison at Mackinac (correctly called Michilimackinac) consisted of a Captain's Command of about 75 men.

tributed to the successful struggle afterwards maintained against the American arms in Upper-Canada. Gen. Hull, after the capture of his army and the fall of Detroit, in his official despatch, relative to these events, attributes his disasters to the fall of Mackinac; after the surrender of which, almost every tribe and nation of Indians, except a part of the Miamies and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from Ohio and the Wabash, and east from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country joined in open hostility against the army he commanded.

Previous to the declaration of war, the American government had concentrated their army at Detroit, and in the Michigan Territory, under the command of Brigadier General Hull, (an officer bred in the revolutionary war,) with the intent of following up their declaration of war, by an immediate invasion of Upper Canada, and by that means to intercept the British influence over the Indians, as well as to maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be elsewhere engaged against the British Provinces.

First Invasion of Upper-Canada.

On the 12th of July, this Officer, possessed of discretionary authority from his government, and having, as he thought, a sufficient force to secure an easy and victorious progress in the Upper Province, crossed without opposition from Detroit to Sandwich on the British side, with an army of about fifteen hundred men. Here he established his head quarters, and issued a Proclamation, memorable for the positive and pompous tone in which he anticipates the easy conquest of Canada, and the hostile threat of extermination and indiscriminate

slaughter of every White Man who should be found fighting by the side of an Indian.* General Brock, upon receiving this proclamation at Fort George, issued on the 22d July, a proclamation as remarkable for the solid reasoning and dignity of its language, as that of the American, for its presumption. He immediately convoked the Provincial Parliament, which assembled on the 28th at York, the capital of Upper Canada; and in the mean time despatched Colonel Proctor with such reinforcements as could be spared, to assume the command at Amherstburg, then in charge of Lieut. Col. St. George.

General Hull remained for some time inactive, under pretext of making preparation to prosecute the campaign with vigour; but it was the fallacious hope of an early insurrection in his favour that lulled him into a supiness fatal to the safety of his army. Amherstburgh lay but eighteen miles below him, and the mud and picketed fortification of that post was not in a condition to make resistance against a regular siege. The American, confident of an easy conquest, had not, as yet a single cannon or mortar mounted, and to endeavour to take it at the point of the bayonet, he thought inexpedient. During this delay his situation became more and more precarious: three detachments from his army were, on three successive days, beaten back by a handful of the 41st regiment and a few Indians, from the bridge over the river Canard, three miles from Amherstburgh, which they endeavoured to seize, in order to open the route to that post. Another detachment, in attempting to ford the river higher up, was put to flight by a small party of eighteen or

* See Appendix C.

twenty Indians who lay concealed in the grass. The enemy, panic struck at their sudden and hideous yell, fled with precipitancy, leaving their arms, accoutrements and haversacks. The British sloop of war Queen Charlotte, carrying eighteen twenty-four pounders, lay in the Detroit River, opposite the mouth of the river Canard, so that it was impossible for the Americans to convey by water to Amherstburgh any artillery, of which after much labour they had at last mounted two twenty-four pounders. Lieutenant Rollette commanding the armed Brig Hunter, had on the 3d of July, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, by a bold attempt in his barge, with only six men, succeeded in capturing the *Cayahoga** Packet bound from Miami river to Detroit with troops, and loaded with baggage, and the Hospital Stores of the American army, the loss of which was now severely felt. Michilimackinac in his rear, had been taken since the commencement of the invasion, while the Indians from that quarter were flocking into the British standard. Our

* The merit of this gallant action which greatly contributed to mar the plans of General Hull, by the total loss of all his hospital stores, has been more than once undeservedly attributed to a person who never saw the *Cayahoga* until Lieutenant Rollette had brought her safe into harbour, to the surprize and admiration of every one present. It is no more than justice, to which Lieut. Rollette is strictly entitled, to assert that his services upon Lake Erie, while he commanded the Hunter, and until he was compelled as a PROVINCIAL OFFICER to fall in the rear of the Lieutenants of the ROYAL NAVY, were uniformly successful, and have not been excelled by any thing performed on the Lakes by the officers of the navy, who superseded the provincial officers. The former were perhaps superior in tactics, and cherished a hearty though mistaken contempt for the Americans, in which they have been since wofully undeceived. The provincial officers were surely not less brave, though more prudent than the former, and as things have turned out, our fleets on Lakes Erie and Champlain might as well have been entrusted to provincial, as navy officers. The former with one or two exceptions, have been always more successful on the lakes than the latter.

naval force being superior on the lake, Colonel Proctor pushed over to Brownstown, a village nearly opposite to Amherstburgh, twenty miles below Detroit, a small detachment of the 41st regiment under the command of Captain Tallon, with a few Indians, who on the 5th of August surprised and routed a party of two hundred Americans under Major Vanhorne, on their way from Detroit to the River Raisin, to meet a detachment of volunteers from Ohio under Capt. Brush, with a convoy of provisions for the army. In this affair a quantity of booty, and General Hull's despatches to the Secretary at War, fell into the hands of the victors, whereby the deplorable state of the American army was disclosed; and Colonel Proctor last no time in sending over a reinforcement of one hundred of the 41st regt. with some militia and four hundred Indians, the whole commanded by Major Muir, under protection of the Hunter sloop of war. In the interim, the American General received a despatch from General Hall on the Niagara frontier, intimating that he could not expect a co-operation in that quarter, which would have created a diversion in his favor. Such was the hopeless state of things when the American General began to be sensible of his danger. His army hemmed in on every side, cut off from its resources, and hourly wasting away with defeat, death, sickness and fatigue, unsupported by an insurrection of the country people in his favor, and unaided by any co-operating army, and above all dismayed at the report of Gen. Brock's resolution to advance against him; his schemes of conquest vanished, and in the sinking state of his affairs, he saw no other alternative than a retreat to Detroit, under pretence of there concentrating his main army, and after re-

Hull's retreat from Upper-Canada.

opening his communication with the River Raisin and Miami, through which he received the whole of his supplies, to resume offensive operations against Upper-Canada. Accordingly on the evening of the seventh, and on the morning of the eighth of August, the whole of his army except a garrison of two hundred and fifty men, and a few artillery left in charge of a small fortress they had thrown up on the British side, a little below Detroit, re-crossed the river. General Hull now detached a body of six hundred men under Lieutenant Col. Miller to dislodge the British from Brownstown, and open the communication with the rivers Raisin and Miami, upon which the existence of the army depended.

Battle of Maguago. On the ninth, this detachment was met by the British and Indians under Major Muir, at Maguago, between Brownstown and Detroit, who, after a desperate battle, in which the Americans lost seventy-five men, were obliged to retreat with inconsiderable loss compared with that of the Americans. On the seventh Lieutenant Rolette with the boats of the Queen Charlotte and Hunter, under cover of the guns of the latter, attacked and captured a convoy of eleven batteaux and boats, having on board fifty-six of their wounded, and two English prisoners, on their way from Maguago to Detroit, escorted by two hundred and fifty American troops on shore.

Amidst these reverses of fortune, the American General was startled at a summons to surrender the Fort of Detroit, by General Brock, who, after having closed the public business prorogued the Parliament, and collecting a few regulars and militia, with incredible exertion, had reached Amherstburgh on the 13th of August. So resolute a demand, struck the American

Commander with dismay, who, at the worst had never contemplated a pursuit into his own territory by the British. He still however maintained sufficient presence of mind to return a prompt and positive refusal, upon receipt of which, the British, who now occupied the ground lately in possession of the enemy in front of Detroit, where they threw up a battery under the directions of Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers, commenced at about four in the afternoon on the fifteenth, a brisk cannonade upon Detroit, from two 5½ inch mortars, one eighteen, and two twelve pounders, under the management of Captain Hall, of the Provincial Navy, with a party of sailors, which was continued for upwards of an hour with great effect. Early on the morning of the sixteenth, the cannonade recommenced, while General Brock with about seven hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians, crossed the river without opposition at the Spring Wells, three miles below Detroit, under cover of the Queen Charlotte and Hunter. This small but resolute force, after forming upon the beach, advanced in column, flanked on the left by the Indians, with the river of Detroit on their right, and took (at the distance of a mile) a position in line, in front of the American fort, into which the enemy had retired. Here every preparation was making for an immediate assault, when, to the surprise of both armies, a white flag was seen flying upon the walls of the Fort, and a messenger advancing with proposals from the American General to capitulate. Lieut. Colonel M'Donell of the Militia, and Major Glegg of the 49th regiment, Aid-de-camp to General Brock, immediately proceeded by his orders to the tent of the American General, where they, in a few minutes, dictated the

terms of capitulation. By this, the whole of the American army, including a detachment of three hundred and fifty men under Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, despatched on the 14th for the river Raisin to escort the provisions in charge of Captain Brush from thence to Detroit, became prisoners of war; and Detroit, with the Michigan territory, were surrendered to the British arms, without the effusion of a single drop of British blood. The American statements of their own strength, nearly coincide with the British reports, which make it two thousand five hundred men regulars and militia. The militia were paroled and permitted to return home, on condition of not serving during the present war. The regulars were sent down to Quebec. The British force, including Indians, is acknowledged by the enemy to have consisted of only one thousand and thirty men or thereabout. Our own, and perhaps the more correct reports, state it to have consisted of three hundred and thirty regular troops, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians, who, upon the present occasion, are said not to have sullied the glory of the day by any wanton acts of savage barbarity incident to the Indian mode of warfare. Twenty-five pieces of iron and eight pieces of brass ordnance, (the latter chiefly of those taken from us in the revolution) with an immense quantity of stores of every description, and one armed brig, called the John Adams (afterwards named Detroit) fell into the hands of the British.

Surrender of Detroit.

Thus ended this rash and imbecile attempt at the conquest of Upper Canada. The loss of Mackinac and Detroit, with the flower of their army at the outset of the war, was a disgrace that filled the American

government with consternation and alarm, as their plans of aggrandisement were not only totally defeated, but their whole western frontier laid open to the inroads of hostile Indians, and at the mercy of a people still warm with indignation at the late invasion.

General Brock having issued a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of the Michigan Territory, confirming them in the full enjoyment of their property, laws and religion, left Colonel Proctor in Command of Detroit, and returned to York, where he arrived on the 27th of August, amidst the heartfelt acclamations of a grateful people, rescued by his promptitude from the ignominy of submitting to a conqueror. In the short space of nineteen days, he had with the assistance of his Parliament, settled the public business of the Province, under the most trying circumstances that a commander could encounter, and having united and prepared his little army, had effected a long and fatiguing march of some hundred miles; and with means incredibly limited, had repelled an invading enemy of double his force, pursued him into his own territory, and finally compelled him to surrender his whole army; thus extending the British dominion without bloodshed, over an extent of territory almost equal to Upper Canada. The humbled, the fallen General Hull, with the officers and men of his army, were introduced into Montreal, on the evening of the 6th September, in a triumphal though mock procession, amidst the shouts of a scornful multitude, indignant at the savage threat of extermination he had breathed in his proclamation at the outset of his invasion. The Commander of the forces however, received him with every mark of attention due to his rank, and unsolicited, allowed him to return

to the States upon his parole; but his officers with few exceptions, were sent to Quebec.

Our little navy on lake Erie, and on lake Ontario, though the enemy were making the most active exertions, still maintained a decided ascendency, and upon it depended the safety of Upper Canada, and the future fate of the British Provinces. General Brock intended to have followed up his first success by an attempt on Niagara, a fort nearly opposite to Fort George; which in all probability, as well as Oswego and Sackett's Harbor, the nursery of the enemy's fleet and forces, would have yielded to the terror of his name and the tide of success that attended his arms; but controuled by his instructions, he was prevented from adopting measures, which probably, might have for ever blasted the hopes of America in the Upper Province.

The Commander of the British forces, conscious of the inferiority of his strength, and uncertain of reinforcements from home, seemed to have adopted a defensive system, rather than incur the risk of wasting his army in hazardous enterprises, which in case of failure might lead to disasters ruinous to the Provinces entrusted to his charge. Forbearance towards America had long been the known and favorite policy of Great-Britain, and there is cause to believe that Sir George Prevost acted in the present instance, pursuant to directions from his Majesty's government, which in the hopes of a speedy termination of the differences with America, studied by temporizing, to avoid measures tending to widen the breach, or give room to the American people to embark in the quarrel of their government.

Major General Dearborn, Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States, had soon after the commencement of hostilities fixed his head quarters at Greenbush near Albany, which was converted into a military depot, with a view of collecting an army to overawe Lower-Canada, and by preventing succours to the upper province, afford General Hull a facility in his accomplishment of the conquest of that province. Here, he received towards the end of July or in the commencement of August, despatches from Sir GEORGE PREVOST, by the Adjutant General, Colonel Baynes, bearing a flag of truce, notifying the repeal of the Orders in Council transmitted from Hallifax by Mr. Foster the late Minister in America. A proposition accompanying these, of the propriety of suspending hostilities, until the pleasure of the President of the United States should be known, was submitted to the American General, under the hopes that this conciliatory measure, removing the alledged principal ground of difference between the two nations, would be met by a corresponding disposition on the part of the American government. General Dearborn readily consented to an Armistice, (except as to General Hull, who, he said acted under the immediate directions of the Secretary at War,) and forwarded the despatches to his government, which misconstruing this friendly proffer, into weakness, or a sense of danger on the part of the British Commander, and probably flushed with the prospect of subjugating Upper Canada, refused to ratify the Armistice. Messengers had in the mean time been despatched to Upper Canada to inform General Brock of the provisional Armistice agreed upon between the British and American Commanders, but the

promptitude of that officer had secured Detroit before their arrival.*

* General Hull was, some months after his return to the United States, and after having been regularly exchanged, tried by a general court martial for his misconduct in this campaign. He was found guilty and sentenced to be shot, but being recommended on account of his services in the revolutionary war, he was pardoned by the President of the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

Various occurrences. Battle of Queenstown. Death of Gen. Brock. His Character. General Sheaffe assumes the Command in Upper-Canada. Attack at St. Regis. Advance of the American army under General Dearborn. Incursion of the enemy at *La Cole*. General Smyth's attempt to invade Upper-Canada. Meeting of the Provincial Parliament. Proceedings of the Assembly. Prorogation.

THE American government, chagrined with disappointment and the disgrace of the late campaign, which, even in their own estimation, had obliterated the glories of the revolutionary war, resolved to strain every sinew to retrieve the faded lustre of their arms. The capture of the Guerrier by the United States frigate Constitution, a ship far superior to the former, in tonnage, weight of metal, and the number of her men, afforded some solace to their wounded pride. The American forces on the confines of Lower Canada, un-

der the immediate command of General Dearborn were increasing rapidly, and threatened Montreal with invasion by St. John's and the Odletown road. Their force at Niagara, and on the Niagara frontier under Brigadier General Van Reneslaer, was already formidable, and afforded good grounds of apprehension to General Brock of a speedy irruption from that quarter; while General Harrison was actively employed in collecting an army at the River Raisin near Detroit, from the Ohio, and the State of Kentucky. The naval establishment at Sacket's Harbour in the mean time increased with prodigious celerity, and the ascendency of their fleet on lake Ontario was, by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Chauncey, now almost incontestibly established.

It was, as yet uncertain at what point their main force would be directed; or whether their object was by a combined movement to overwhelm both provinces at the same instant. The shewey legions they had assembled, were however, rather disdained than dreaded by the British forces, who were supported by a brave and loyal militia, animated to enthusiasm in the cause in which they were engaged, while the Americans, averse by education, and their independent habits of life, to the wholesome constraints of discipline, and the subordination of a camp, could hardly be organized into the semblance of an army, which nothing but the allurements of a speedy conquest, and an abundant harvest of spoil, could prevent from dispersing.

A Cordon was formed along the frontiers of Lower Canada, from Yamaska to St. Regis, where the line of separation between the United States and Lower-Canada touches the St. Lawrence, consisting of the Ca-

nadian Voltigeurs, and part of the embodied militia. A light brigade of the elite of the forces, regular and militia, was formed at Blairfinde, under the command of Lieut. Col. Young, of the 8th regt. consisting of the flank companies of the 8th, 100th, 103d Regiments, with the Canadian Fencibles, the flank companies of the 1st battalion of embodied militia, and a small brigade of the Royal Artillery, with six field pieces.

The road to the United States, from the camp of Blairfinde (or l'Acadie) through Burtonville and Odletown, was cut up, and rendered impracticable by abbatis, and every precaution was taken to prevent a sudden irruption of the enemy from that quarter. The Voltigeurs, with extroardinary perseverance, effected this fatiguing duty in the course of a very short time, under the superintendance of their commanding officer Major De Salaberry.

The slender reinforcements that arrived this summer, were barely sufficient to relieve the citizens of Quebec for a short time from garrison duty. They consisted of the 103d Regiment from England, and a battalion of the 1st (or Royal Scots) from the West-Indies, with a few recruits for other regiments ; and it was evident that the mother country, unable at the present moment to supply the necessary aid for the defence of these provinces, committed their destiny to the loyalty and patriotism of the Canadian population.

In September, another battalion of the militia was embodied, principally from the Montreal militia, and placed under the command of lieut. col. Murray, and called the Fifth Battalion (afterwards Canadian Chasseurs.) The North-West Company raised a corps of

Voyageurs, which was disbanded in the ensuing spring, while the merchants and tradesmen of the 1st battalion of Montreal sedentary militia, in order to avoid the rigour of the militia laws, which admitted of no substitutes, organized themselves into four companies of volunteers for garrison duty and field service in case of emergency.

From the capture of Detroit and the American army under General Hull, we have nothing of any importance to relate until the battle of Queenstown. The predatory incursions of the enemy in the mean time, deserve to be noticed.

On the sixteenth of September, a brigade of batteaux loaded with stores, and about one hundred and thirty eight troops, under the command of Major Heathcoat of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, were surprized and nearly taken by a party of five hundred Americans, at Matilda, in their route to Upper Canada. The enemy having crossed over before day light in the morning from the American side, effected a landing unperceived upon a small island at a little distance from the British shore. They concealed themselves in the bushes, and sent a party to secure a man by the name of *Toussaint*, the only inhabitant upon the Island. Early in the morning, the batteaux were seen advancing, and in the eagerness of the Americans to observe them, through a broken glass in his hut, Toussaint stole out and reaching the shore, got into his canoe unobserved. The Americans upon discovering his escape fired upon him, while he, by shouting and making signals, apprised the batteaux of their danger, which then precipitately made for the

shore. A gun boat which escorted this party, immediately dropped down from behind the Island and opened a fire upon the batteaux, while two large boats loaded with troops were seen crossing from the American shore, amd making for the upper end of the Channel between the Island and the British shore; with a view of taking the British batteaux in flank. They proceeded without interruption until upon entering the channel, when a body of militia under Captain Ault, opened a most destructive fire upon them. One fled for shelter behind the Island, while the other made for its shore, and abandoned the boat with precipitancy leaving a number of killed and wounded. They kept up a brisk fire from the Island under cover of the bushes, but upon the arrival of a reinforcement of militia from a neighbouring township, under captain Munroe, they retired from the Island with considerable loss, (exaggerated by some statements to fifty seven killed) and returned to their own shore, having completely failed in their enterprise.

A party of one hundred and fifty Americans under Captain Forsyth, near the same time crossed over from Gravelly Point to Gananoque, some miles below Kingston, from whence they dislodged a party of fifty militia, and took possession of a quantity of arms and ammunition, which they carried away after burning the Store and a small quantity of provisions. Their conduct is represented to have been disgraceful towards the defenceless inhabitants, whom they were prevented by the officers from plundering, after some difficulty. Four men found in the hospital, and a Dragoon intercepted by them on his way to Kingston to give notice of their approach, were made prisoners and carried away by this party.

From the frequent interruption of the convoys from Montreal, or rather Lachine, to Kingston in Upper Canada, by the Americans at Ogdensburgh, opposite Prescot; Col. Lethbridge commanding the latter, formed the design of dislodging the enemy and possessing himself of Ogdensburgh. With a view to effect his purpose, he assembled a force of seven hundred and fifty men, regulars and militia, and having collected a sufficient number of batteaux, he pushed off in the forenoon of the 4th of October, under cover of a cannonade from Prescot, with twenty-five batteaux escorted by two gun boats. They advanced without opposition, until mid-channel, when the enemy opened a tremendous discharge of artillery, which checked their progress. A confusion immediately ensued, and they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of three men killed and four wounded. The Americans were commanded by Brigadier General Brown, and are said to have behaved with much coolness and intrepidity. This enterprise, undertaken without the sanction of the commander of the forces, was censured by him; and the public opinion condemned it as rash and premature.

On the 9th of October, the armed brig Detroit, recently taken at Detroit, and the brig Caledonia with a quantity of Furs belonging to the North-West Company, having arrived the preceding day from Detroit with prisoners, were boarded opposite Fort Erie before the dawn of day by a party of upwards of two hundred Americans in boats manned by seamen. They succeeded in cutting the cables, and the vessels drifted towards the American shore. The Caledonia grounded at Black Rock, and the Detroit upon Squaw

Island a small distance from the American side. The crew after a severe contest being made prisoners, a party of men from Fort Erie succeeded in boarding and dismantling her in a fog, under a warm fire of the enemy, and at about ten at night she was blown up. Some lives were lost upon this occasion; among the Americans a Major Cuyler, who was killed by a shot from Fort Erie, as he was riding along the beach on the opposite side of the river.

General Brock, who, with unwearied diligence had watched the motions of the American army upon the Niagara frontier, commanded by Major General Van Rensselaer, was convinced from the movements he had observed on the American shore, that an invasion was premeditated, and kept his little army upon the alert. On the fourth of October an American spy was sent over to the British side, who returned with information to the American General, that General Brock had moved on to Detroit with all the force that could be spared. Encouraged by this false news, every preparation was taken for a descent upon Queenstown, on the morning of the eleventh: their forces were concentrated at Lewistown, opposite Queenstown, with a view of making an immediate attack upon the latter; but through the neglect or cowardice of the officer entrusted with preparing and conducting the boats to the place of embarkation, the attack miscarried. Early in the morning of the 13th, their forces were again concentrated at Lewistown, and the troops embarked under cover of a commanding battery of two eighteen and two six pounders. This movement being soon discovered, a brisk fire was opened upon them from the British shore, by the troops, and from three

batteries. The Americans commenced a cannonade to sweep the shore, but with little effect. The first division under Colonel Van Rensselaer, effected their landing unobserved under the heights a little above Queenstown, and mounting the ascent with firmness and alacrity, attacked and carried an eighteen pounder battery, and dislodged the light company of the 49th regiment. The enemy were in the mean time pushing over in boats, and notwithstanding the current and eddies, which in this part of the river are numerous and rapid, and a tremendous discharge of artillery, which shattered many of their boats, persevered with dauntless resolution, and effected a landing close upon Queenstown, where they were opposed by the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, and the York Volunteer Militia, with a determination verging upon desperation. The carnage became terrible. The British being overwhelmed with numbers, were compelled to retire some distance, into a hollow. General Brock having heard the cannonade, arrived at that moment, with his Provincial Aide-de-camp Lieut. Col. M'Donell from Niagara (at the grey of the morning,) and having rallied the grenadiers of his favorite 49th, was leading them on to the charge, when he received a musket ball in his breast, which almost immediately terminated his existence. The only words he uttered were "*push on the brave York Volunteers*," when he fell from his horse, and his corpse remained for some time in the power of the enemy. In the interim, the light company supported by a party of the Yorkers rallied, and re-ascended to dislodge the enemy from the heights. They formed and advanced to the charge exposed to a smart fire, but finding the enemy posted behind trees, so that a charge

Battle of Queenstown.

Death of General Brock.

could have little effect, they desisted, and separating, posted themselves in like manner, and kept up a smart fire for some time. Lieut. Colonel M'Donell who had joined them while forming for the charge, and was encouraging the men, received a ball in his back, as his horse, which had been wounded, was in the act of wheeling. He survived his wound twenty-four hours in the most excruciating pain. The Americans having effected their landing with an overwhelming force, the British were obliged to give way, and suspend the fight until the arrival of reinforcements, leaving the Americans in possession of the heights. General Sheaffe soon came up with a reinforcement of three hundred men of the 41st regiment, two companies of Militia, and two hundred and fifty Indians. Reinforcements having also arrived from Chippawa, the British General collected his whole force amounting to upwards of eight hundred men, and leaving two field pieces with about thirty men under Lieut. Holcroft of the Royal Artillery in front of Queenstown, as a check to prevent the enemy from occupying the village, proceeded by a circuitous route to gain the rear of the heights upon which the enemy were posted. The Indians being more alert than the troops, first surmounted the hill, and commenced the attack, but were repulsed and fell back on the main body, who formed with celerity, and upon the word, advanced to the charge under a heavy shower of musketry. The British sat up a shout, accompanied with the war-whoop of the Indians, and advanced at the double quick or running pace, when the Americans, struck with terror, gave way and fled in all directions, some concealing themselves in the bushes, others precipitating themselves down the precipice were killed by the fall, or drowned

in the attempt to swim the river. A terrible slaughter ensued, by the Indians, whose vengeance it was impossible to restrain, until a white flag was observed ascending the hill with offers of an unconditional surrender which were accepted. An armistice of three days was proposed by the American and granted by the British General, in order to take care of their wounded and bury their dead, on condition of destroying their batteaux, which was immediately complied with. One General Officer (Wadsworth) two Lieut. Colonels, five Majors, a multitude of Captains and Subalterns, with nine hundred men, one field piece, and a stand of Colours, were the fruits of this important victory; and it is computed that the enemy must have lost in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, upwards of fifteen hundred men. The action lasted from four in the morning until near four o'clock in the afternoon, and though vanquished, the obstinacy with which they contested the honor of the day, reflects credit upon the enemy. General Van Rensselaer, before the arrival of the reinforcements from Niagara, under General Sheaffe, finding the fate of the day still undetermined, his troops almost exhausted with fatigue, and falling short of ammunition, had returned to the American shore, to urge across a reinforcement from the embodied militia, but they, notwithstanding every menace, and entreaty on his part, unanimously refused. In this dilemma he wrote a note to General Wadsworth, who remained with the Americans on the Queenstown heights, informing him of the situation of things, and leaving the course to be pursued, much to his own judgment; assuring him if he thought best to retreat, he would send as many boats as he could command, and cover his retreat by every fire he could make.

But before the latter had time to resolve upon any mode of security or retreat, the spirited advance of the British had decided the fate of the day. The British at Fort Erie under the command of Lieut. Col. Myers, silenced the enemy's fire at Black Rock, and blew up a barrack with a considerable *depot* of ammunition. The Caledonia lately captured by the enemy was almost destroyed at her moorings. A well directed fire from Fort George also silenced the enemy's Batteries on the other side of the river, from whence they fired red hot shot upon the wooden buildings in the neighborhood of Fort George.

Thus ended, in their total discomfiture, the second attempt of the Americans to invade Upper-Canada. The loss of the British is said to have been about twenty killed including Indians, and between fifty and sixty wounded. The fall of General Brock the idol of the army, and of the people of Upper-Canada, was an irreparable loss, and cast a shade over the glory of this dear-bought victory. He was a native of Guernsey of an ancient and reputable family distinguished in the profession of arms. He had served for many years in Canada, and in some of the principal campaigns in Europe. He commanded a detachment of his favourite 49th Regiment, on the expedition to Copenhagen with Lord Nelson, where he distinguished himself. He was one of those extraordinary men who seem born to influence mankind, and mark the age in which they live. Conscious of the ascendency of his genius over those who surrounded him, he blended the mildest of manners, with the severity and discipline of a camp, and though his deportment was somewhat grave and imposing, the noble frankness of his charac-

ter imparted at once confidence and respect to those who had occasion to approach his person. As a soldier he was brave to a fault, and not less judicious than decisive in his measures. The energy of his character was strongly expressed in his countenance, and in the robust and manly symmetry of his frame. As a Civil Governor, he was firm, prudent and equitable. In fine, whether we view him as a Man, a Statesman or a Soldier, he equally deserves the esteem and respect of his contemporaries and of posterity. The Indians, who flocked to his standard, were attached to him with almost enthusiastic affection, and the enemy even expressed an involuntary regret at his untimely fall. His prodigality of life, bereft the country of his services at the early age of forty-two years. The remains of this gallant Officer, were, during the funeral service, honored with a discharge of minute guns from the American, as well as British batteries, and with those of his faithful Aid-de-Camp Lieut. Col. M'Donell, were interred in the same grave at Fort George, on the 16th October, amidst the tears of an affectionate soldiery and a grateful people, who will cherish his memory with veneration, and hand to their posterity the imperishable name of BROCK.

The civil and military commands in Upper-Canada now devolved upon Major General Sheaffe, a friend and fellow soldier of his illustrious predecessor. He paroled General Wadsworth and some of the principal officers; the remainder were sent to Quebec.—Among the American prisoners, twenty-three men were found, who having declared themselves British born subjects were sent to England for trial as traitors. This gave occasion to retaliate upon British prisoners

in America, and a like number of the latter were put into close confinement as Hostages for the safety of the traitors, by order of the American Government. This circumstance led to discussions that shall be noticed in their proper place.

On the 18th of October, General Smyth assumed the command at Niagara, and applied to the British General for an Armistice which was agreed upon, and to continue until thirty hours after notice of its termination.

On the 23d of October, a party of near four hundred Americans from Plattsburgh under Major Young, surprised the piquet at the Indian Village of St. Regis. Twenty three men were made prisoners by the enemy, and Lieut. Rottotte and a sergeant M'Gillivray and six men were left dead. The piquet consisted of a detachment of Canadian Voygeurs. The Americans in plundering the Village found an Ensign or Union Jack, in the house of the resident Interpreter, usually hoisted upon a flag staff at the door of the Chief on Sundays or Holy-days, which, said the American Major in an order issued upon the occasion (not a little proud of the achievement) *were the first colours taken during the war.* This occurrence was however counterpoised by an attack upon a party of Americans at Salmon river near St. Regis on the 23d November, by detachments of the Royal Artillery, 49th regiment and Glengary Light Infantry, amounting to seventy men, with detachments from the Cornwall and Glengary Militia of near the same number, the whole under the command of Lieut. Col. M'Millan. In this affair, the enemy took to a block house, but finding

themselves surrounded, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. One Captain, two Subalterns, and forty-one men became prisoners of war, and four batteaux, and fifty-seven stand of arms were taken.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, and the internal difficulties with which the American government had to struggle, the most active preparations were carrying on to invade the Canadas. Major General Dearborn was at the head of ten thousand men on the confines of Lower-Canada: our fleet, though superior to them in the spring and summer on Lake Ontario, dare not now even contest with the Americans for the dominion of the Lake. General Smyth had an army of six thousand men on the Niagara frontier, and Gen. Harrison on the river Raisin, over-awed Detroit with his Ohio and Kentucky men. From these hostile appearances it was evident that the enemy still meditated a combined movement, but the uncertainty of the point against which their main strength would be aimed, kept our army constantly on the alert. On the ninth of November, the American fleet consisting of seven sail of vessels, with a considerable number of troops, after chasing the Royal George into Kingston Channel, cannonaded her for some time; being however, warmly received by the batteries as well as the ships, they hauled off, and beat up under a heavy fire to Four Mile Point, and anchored, with a view of renewing the attack at a more favorable opportunity. Early on the ensuing morning they got under way, and beat out of the Channel under a heavy press of sail to the open Lake, where they fell in with the Governor Simcoe, from Niagara running for Kingston, and chased her

into the Harbour; she eluded their pursuit by running over a reef of rocks under a heavy fire from the Governor Tomkins, the Hamilton, and Juliana, which did her some injury. The weather becoming boisterous, the fleet bore away for Sacket's Harbor, after having taken in their cruise two Schooners, in one of which Capt. Brock, Paymaster of the 49th regt. was made prisoner. He was paroled by Commodore Chauncey, who meritorously restored the Plate and Effects found in his possession, belonging to his late illustrious relative General Brock.

Advance of General Dearborn.

The American forces under Gen. Dearborn in the mean time gradually approached the frontier of Lower Canada, and early on the morning of the 17th of November 1812, Major (now Lieut. Colonel) De Salaberry, Superintendant of the Canadian Voltigeurs, commanding the cordon and advanced posts on the lines, received information at St. Philips, that the enemy to the number of ten thousand were advancing to Odletown. He immediately despatched two companies of the Voltigeurs under the command of capt. Perrault of the same regiment, with three hundred Indians under captain Ducharne of the Indian Department, to reinforce major Laforce of the 1st battalion Embodied Militia, who was posted with the two flank companies of that battalion at the river La Cole. This detachment, after a fatiguing march of thirty-six miles, chiefly through morasses and *abbatis*, arrived early in the afternoon of the same day at Burtonville, and took a position within the river La Cole, a mile distant from it, in conjunction with a party of about thirty Algonquin and Abenaki Indians, and a few Voyageurs under captain M'Kay,

a gentleman of the North-West Company in the Voyageurs corps. Major de Salaberry arrived on the day following with the remainder of the Voltigeurs and the Voyageurs, commanded by lieut. col. M'Gillivray, and four companies of the Volunteer Chasseurs from the parishes of Chateauguay, St. Constant, St. Philip and l'Acadie. In the mean time the enemy occupied Champlain Town, two or three miles from the lines, and an earnest invasion was momently expected. Nothing occurred of any consequence until the 20th in the morning, when capt, M'Kay, visiting the piquet between three and four o'clock, perceived the enemy fording the river La Cole, and at the same instant heard them cock their firelocks in the surrounding bushes. He had scarcely time to apprise the picquet under capt. Bernard Panet, of their danger, when the enemy, who had surrounded the guard-hut on all sides, discharged a volley of musketry so close that their wads sat fire to the roof and consumed the hut. The Militia and Indians discharged their pieces, and dashing through the ranks of the enemy, escaped unhurt, while the Americans who had forded the river in two places, mistaking each other in the darkness and confusion of the night for the enemy, kept up a brisk fire for near half an hour, in which they killed and wounded several of their own people. After discovering their error they retired to Champlain Town, leaving five men wounded, and three or four killed, who were found by the Indians on the same day. This party is said to have consisted of fourteen hundred men and a troop of Dragoons, and was commanded by Colonels Pike and Clarke.

This movement, or rather incursion of the enemy, gave room to expect another more vigorous attempt

to invade Lower-Canada, and on the 22d, the Governor by a General Order directed the whole Militia of the province to consider themselves commanded for active service, and to be prepared to move forward to meet the enemy as soon as required. Lieut. Colonel Deschambault was ordered to cross the St. Lawrence at Lachine to Cahnawaga, with the Point Claire, Riviere du Chene, Vaudreuil and Longue Point Battalions, and to march upon l'Acadie. The Volunteers of the 1st Battalion of Montreal militia, the flank companies of the second and third battalions, and a troop of militia dragoons crossed the river to Longueil and Laprairie, and the whole mass of population in the district of Montreal made a spontaneous movement towards the point of invasion with an enthusiasm unsurpassed in any age or country. General Dearborn, who, no doubt was well informed of the state of the public mind in Lower-Canada at this crisis, foresaw from the multitude assembled to oppose his progress, and the hostile spirit of the Canadians, the fruitlessness of an attempt to invade Lower-Canada, began to withdraw his sickly and already enfeebled host, into winter quarters at Plattsburg and Burlington. Whether he ever earnestly contemplated an invasion, or only intended this movement as a feint to create a diversion in favour of the army under General Smyth on the Niagara frontier, remains a question. All apprehensions of an invasion of Lower Canada for the present season having disappeared, the troops and embodied militia were on the 27th November, ordered into winter quarters.

The armistice concluded between General Smyth and Sheaffe after the battle of Queenstown was termin-

ated on the 20th November, pursuant to notification to that effect from the former. This and the former Armistice without affording any present advantage, proved in the event of material prejudice to the British on Lake Erie. The Americans availed themselves of so favorable an occasion to forward their Naval Stores unmolested from Black Rock to Presque Isle by water, which they could not otherwise have affected, but with immense trouble and expense by land, and equipped at leisure the fleet which afterwards wrested from us the command of that Lake.

Gen. Smyth's attempt to invade Upper-Canada.

Gen. Smyth (of proclamation memory) had during the armistice exerted himself in preparing boats for another attempt to invade the Upper Province, near Fort Erie at the foot of the Lake of the same name.*

Early on the morning of the 28th Nov. the enemy effected a landing on the British side with a division of fourteen boats rowed by sailors, with about thirty men each, at the upper end of Grand Isle between Fort Erie and Chippawa. They were resolutely opposed by Lieutenant King of the Royal Artillery, and Lieut. Lamont and Bartley with detachments of thirty and thirty-five men each, of the 49th Regiment. Lieteuants King and Lamont were wounded, and their men being overwhelmed with numbers gave way after spiking the guns; these two officers with about thirty three men were made prisoners and sent over to the American side. Lieutenant Bartley in the mean time after a determined resistance by which his force was reduced to seventeen effective men was compelled to retire, be-

* See Appendix D.

ing threatened by a movement of the enemy upon his flank. In the interim the boats with the prisoners and as many Americans as could crowd into them, returning, left Captain King Aid-de-Camp to the American General with a few officers and about forty men, who moved down the shore of the river, but being pursued by Major Ormsby from Fort Erie, where made prisoners after a feeble resistance. At about seven o'clock in the morning, another division of eighteen boats, were seen advancing to effect a landing two miles lower down than the former. Colonel Bishop having upon the first alarm, moved from Chippawa, had now formed a junction with Major Ormsby from Fort Erie, and commanding a force of nearly eleven hundred men, consisting of detachments of the 41st, 49th and Royal Newfoundland Regiments, a body of Militia under Lieut. Col. Clark and Major Hall, and some Indians, waited for the enemy on the shore. Their approach was welcomed with three cheers, and a steady and effectual fire opened upon them from musketry and a six pounder (under the command of Captain Kirby of the Royal Artillery,) which destroyed two of their boats, threw the remainder into confusion, and compelled them to seek safety in flight. The enemy, for a part of the day, made a display of their force on their own side of the river, but perceiving the British had unspiked and remounted the guns which had fallen into their hands in the morning, they with a view of retiring unmolested from our fire, by gaining a little time, sent over a flag to Colonel Bishop to summons the surrender of Fort Erie, to save the effusion of human blood, who answered in the laconic words of an Englishman "*Come and take it.*" Preparations were made for another descent on the Canada side, on the morning

of the 1st of December, but through mismanagement in embarking their troops, and a deficiency of provisions, the project miscarried, and the troops were ordered to re-land and hut themselves for the winter. Murmur and discontent crept into the American camp, and General Smyth was obliged to take flight to save himself from the indignation of his army, which from death, sickness and defection, soon ceased to be a subject of apprehension to the British in their neighbourhood. This was the termination of the third attempt to invade Upper-Canada, and the result of the formidable preparations of the American government to conquer the Canadas.

The Legislature of Lower-Canada assembled on the 29th of December. The Governor at the opening of the Session, expressed his confidence in the people, the fruits of whose loyalty were the honourable termination of the campaign without effusion of blood, loss of territory, or a recourse to martial law. He thanked the house in the name of the Prince Regent, for the assurance of attachment and support they had promised in their answer to his Speech at the opening of Parliament in the preceding month of February, and acquainted them that "His Royal Highness placed that confidence in the courage and loyalty of his Majesty's Canadian subjects, which made him equally fearless of the result of any direct attack upon them, and of any insidious attempts to alienate their affection from his government." He informed them of the beneficial effects resulting from the Army Bill Act, and recommended it to their further consideration. "He had (he observed) according to the powers vested in him by the Legislature, called forth the Militia to assist in

the defence of the Province, and with the most cheering satisfaction had been a witness of that public spirit, that steady order and that love of their country, their Religion and their Laws, which they had manifested on this occasion, and which by animating and uniting all classes of his Majesty's subjects, could not fail under Divine Providence to make them safe at home and respected abroad." He recommended a revision of the Militia Laws, and concluded by urging the necessity of despatch in conducting the public business.

Among the first proceedings of the House of Assemscembly in this Session, was an enquiry into the causes and injurious consequences that might have resulted from the delay incurred in the publication of the laws of the Provincial Parliament passed in the Session thereof, began and holden on the 21st February preceding. This measure was for some time persevered in with unremitted assiduity, and with the obvious intention to palliate the guilt of the rioters at Lachine. Among those summoned on this occasion to attend the bar of the House of Assembly, were the Clerk and other officers of the Legislative Council, which not having been previously consulted by the Lower House, refused to allow their servants to be examined at the bar of the latter. The Legislative Council however, after deliberation permitted them to be examined by the House of Assembly under a species of protest, from a desire to remove every possible obstacle to the immediate discussion of measures requisite for the defence of the Province, reserving for a more convenient occasion the question of their privilege in this respect. Nothing of any importance resulted from the enquiry, which, after some procrastination was totally relinquish-

ed. The subject of appointing an Agent in England was resumed by the House in the present Session, but was postponed. To support the expence of the war, an income tax upon salaries from government was proposed in the Lower House, in the proportion of fifteen per cent upon every salary of £1500 and upwards per annum, twelve per cent upon £1000 and upwards, ten per cent upon £500 and upwards, and five per cent upon every £250 and upwards. A bill to that effect was passed in the Lower House, but was rejected by the Legislative Council.

The House resolved itself into a Committee to take into consideration the power and authority exercised by his Majesty's Courts in this Province, under the denomination of Rules of Practice. The result or rather progress of this enquiry during the subsequent Session, we shall have occosion to notice in its turn. The House in taking into consideration that part of the Governor's Speech, in which reference was had to Martial Law, came to certain resolutions strongly adverse to a recourse to such a measure. The Army Bill Act was renewed and extended; five hundred thousand pounds were authorized to be put into circulation, and in order to secure their credit, Commissioners were appointed to establish at regular periods the current rate of Exchange, of Bills upon London, which the holders, upon application were intitled to obtain from Government. Fifteen thousand pounds were granted by the Parliament to equip the embodied Militia, one thousand pounds to provide for hospitals for the Militia, and twenty-five thousand pounds for the support of the war. The further sum of four hundred pounds was granted to improve and facilitate the communica-

tion between Lower and Upper Canada. But no amendment was made to the Militia Laws, owing to a disagreement on the subject between the Lower and Upper Houses. A duty of two and a half per cent upon all Merchandise (provisions excepted) imported into the Province, and two and a half per cent more, upon Merchandise imported into the Province by persons not actually therein resident six months previous to such importation, was granted for the support of the war. The present Session of the Legislature was prorogued on the fifteenth of February.

CHAPTER V.

Battle of Frenchtown, and defeat of the Americans under General Winchester. The Governor visits Upper Canada. Attack upon Ogdensburgh. Capture of York by the enemy. Attack and reduction of Fort George by the Americans. Expedition against Sacket's Harbour. Battle at Fort Meigs. Brilliant attack upon the enemy's Camp at Stoney Creek by Lieut. Colonel Harvey. Affair at Beaver Dams. Attack upon Black Rock by Lieut. Colonel Bishop, and death of that Officer. Attack upon Lower Sandusky. Capture of the Growler and Eagle near *Isle Aux Noix*. Reduction of Plattsburgh, Champlain and Swanton. Affair of Goose Creek. Death of Captain Milnes, Naval occurrences on Lake Ontario.

THE American army under the command of Gen. Harrison still hovered on the border of the Michigan Territory and over-awed Detroit, where Col. Proctor with an inferior force was left in command after the reduction of that post by General Brock. On the 19th of January, information was received at Detroit by the British Commander, that a division or brigade of the American army under Brigadier General Winchester, was encamped at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, twenty-six miles from Detroit, having driven in a body of militia and Indians posted there under Major Reynolds of the militia, who, after some resistance with a field piece, fell back upon Brownstown Colonel Proctor promptly determined to attack this division before it could be reinforced by the main body under General Harrison,

Battle of Frenchtown.

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three or four days march in the rear; and assembled his disposeable force at Brownstown on the 21st, consisting of five hundred regulars, seamen and militia and about six hundred Indians. He advanced the same day twelve miles, to Stoney Creek, and at day break the next morning made a resolute attack on the enemy's camp. General Winchester himself, fell soon after the commencement of the action into the hands of the Wyandot Chief *Roundhead*, who surrendered him to Colonel Proctor. The Americans had retreated to the houses and enclosures, from which they were making a desperate resistance through fear of falling into the hands of the Indians; but upon its being represented to General Winchester, that unless a speedy surrender were made, the buildings would be set on fire and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the Indians, he sent a flag of truce to his men, and agreed on their part to a surrender, upon condition of their being protected from the fury of the Savages, and allowed to preserve their private property. In this affair the enemy lost in killed between three and four hundred men, and one Brigadier General, three field Officers, nine Captains, twenty Subalterns and upwards of five hundred men in prisoners. The loss on the British side was also severe: twenty-four killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. This spirited and vigorous measure completely disconcerted the arrangements made by General Harrison for the recovery of the Michigan Territory, and secured Detroit from any immediate danger. In recording this gallant exploit, it must be regretted, that the ungovernable ferocity of our Indian allies, (who on the day after the battle, are said to have slaughtered in spite of the British, such of the wounded prisoners as

were unable to walk,) should have tarnished the honor of the victory. Humanity revolts at the idea of a massacre of defenceless and wounded prisoners taken in open and honorable warfare, and we can only find an excuse for the guilt of the tame spectators of such atrocities, in their apprehensions of a similar fate, in case of interference to rescue the the unhappy victims of savage vengeance. The House of Assembly of Lower Canada passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Proctor, for the skill and intrepidity with which he planned and carried into execution this enterprise, and for the exemplary humanity displayed by him in the moment of victory.* A vote of thanks was also passed to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to the line, marine and militia forces who assisted in its accomplishment, and Col. Proctor was immediately promoted to the rank of Brigadier General by the Commander of the Forces, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent should be known, who was pleased to approve and confirm the appointment.

The Governor having closed the Session of the Legislature, left Quebec on the 17th February, on a visit for Upper Canada. In his rout thither, Lieut. Col. Pearson in command at Prescot, proposed to him as he passed, an attack upon the American post at Ogdensburgh, in retaliation for an excursion by the enemy from thence upon Brockville some days previous. The Governor did not deem it expedient to order an attack upon that post, but as two men had deserted on the evening of his arrival, and gone over to the enemy,

* When this vote of thanks was passed, the facts alluded to, were certainly not within the knowledge of the Assembly, as it is more than probable they would have been silent on the score of *humanity*.

Battle & Capture of York.

British to retire with loss. The Grenadiers of the 8th Regiment, who lost their Captain M'Neal, were, after a desperate contest almost annihilated by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The latter having made their landing, formed upon the beach under the immediate orders of General Pike, while the schooners worked up to the Forts under a heavy cannonade, and assuming a position at the distance of six hundred yards from the batteries in order to make a simultaneous impression upon the works by water and by land, opened a heavy fire upon them, which did great execution. The land forces under General Pike advanced through a little wood to the main works, when, at the distance of sixty rods from them, a tremendous explosion took place from a magazine previously prepared, which discharging an immense quantity of rubbish, spread havock among their troops and killed a number of their officers and men. General Pike, an officer much esteemed in the American army, and who seems to have been a gentleman of an amiable character in private life, received a contusion from a large stone while leading on his men, which in a few hours put a period to his existence. General Sheaffe finding his small force unable to resist that of the enemy, retreated at two o'clock in the afternoon, leaving Lieut. Colonel Chewit of the militia to treat with the enemy; and a capitulation immediately ensued, by which York was surrendered to the American forces, and the militia, to the amount of more than two hundred men with their officers, surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that all private property should be respected. The public stores of every description fell into the hands of the enemy, with the armed schooner Duke of Gloucester undergoing re-

pairs. A new ship which had injudiciously been laid down at this open and defenceless Post, the preceding winter, and now almost completely planked, was, with the naval stores set on fire by the British previous to their retreat. The loss of the British was severe, amounting to about one hundred and thirty men in killed and wounded, among the former Mr. M'Lean, the Speaker of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, who had volunteered his services with a musket. The loss of the enemy, though not correctly ascertained, must have been proportionally heavier than that of the British. The enemy having secured their booty, re-embarked and sailed on the 2d of May for Niagara.

The people, hitherto unaccustomed to hear of reverses, were irritated at this success of the enemy, and as usual upon such occasions, clamoured against the General commanding, who a few weeks afterwards was succeeded in the Administration of the Civil Government of Upper Canada by Major General De Rottenburg, and on his return to the Lower Province assumed the command of the forces in the District of Montreal. It is not ascertained whether his removal was the result of the displeasure of the Commander of the forces, but upon a cool survey of the event of the battle of York, it must be owned that the honor of the British arms was strenuously and ably maintained by the small party of men under his command, who, including Regulars, Militia and Indians, did not exceed six hundred.

The American fleet having landed the troops at Niagara, returned to Sacket's Harbour for reinforcements, and on the 25th May, their whole fleet having

proceeded by detachments, were again assembled at Niagara, and General Vincent commanding at Fort George, foresaw that an attack was intended shortly to be made upon his Post. Commodore Chauncey despatched two of his vessels to cruise vigilantly off Kingston, and concerted his arrangements with Gen. Dearborn for a combined attack upon Fort George. Early in the morning of the 27th May the enemy commenced a combined attack upon that Fort, having previously, on the 24th and 25th, materially injured the works by a warm cannonade from their ships and batteries. A body of about eight hundred riflemen under Colonel Scott landed near the two Mile Creek, while the fleet ranged up in the form of a crescent, extending from the North of the light house to the two Mile Creek, so as to enfilade the British batteries by a cross fire. The riflemen, after forming and ascending the bank, were met by the British, and compelled to give way in disorder and return to the beach, from whence they kept up a smart fire under cover of the bank. In the mean time, another body of upwards of two thousand men, under the direction of General Lewis, made a landing,and formed on the beach under cover of a tremendous cannonade of round shot, and showers of grape and canister from the fleet, that swept the adjacent plain, and compelled the British to retire. Gen. Vincent finding the works torn to pieces by the enemy's artillery, and no longer tenable against so overwhelming a force, caused the Fort to be dismantled, and the magazines to be blown up, and retreated to Queenstown, leaving the Americans to take possession of the ruins of the Fort. The British loss consisted of fifty-two killed, and upwards of three hundred wounded and

Attack and reduction of Fort George.

missing. The American accounts state their loss at thirty-nine killed and one hundred and eleven wounded.

General Vincent on the ensuing day having collected the whole of the forces from Chippawa and Fort Erie, and destroyed or rendered useless the posts and stores along that frontier, commenced his retreat towards Burlington Heights at the head of Ontario.

The arrival of Sir James L. Yeo from England at Quebec, on the 5th May, with several Officers of the Royal Navy, and 450 seamen for the Lakes, cheered the drooping spirits of the public. Captains Barclay, Pring and Finnis, with five Lieutenants of the Royal Navy having previously arrived over land from Halifax, with some seamen, were already at Kingston, and putting the fleet in a state of preparation to meet the enemy. Sir George Prevost proceeded from Montreal to Kingston with Sir James L. Yeo, who arrived at the latter place in the short term of six weeks from his embarking at Portsmouth.

The two Commanders being now at Kingston, the public was on the tip-toe of expectation for some decisive dash upon the enemy's flotilla. An attack upon Sacket's Harbor in the absence of their fleet at Niagara was resolved upon. A body of eight hundred or a thousand men were embarked on the 27th May, on board of the British flotilla at Kingston, consisting of the Wolf 24 guns, Royal George 24, Earl of Moira 18, and four schooners bearing from ten to twelve guns each, with a sufficient number of batteaux, and at noon on the next day they were off Sacket's Harbor. The weather was propiti-

Expedition against Sacket's Harbor.

ous, and the troops were transferred to the batteaux to make their landing under an escort of two gunboats, commanded by Captain Mulcaster, the whole under the immediate direction of the land and naval Commanders in Chief. They had proceeded but a short distance when a convoy of American boats loaded with troops were descried doubling Stoney Point, on their way from Oswego to Sacket's Harbor. The Indians, who had previously landed on an Island, fired upon them as they passed and threw them into confusion, while the boats and batteaux bore down and captured twelve of them with about 150 men: the remainder escaped into Sacket's Harbour. The landing was then deferred until the next morning, while the Americans raised the alarm, and withdrew a detachment of their troops posted upon Horse Island at the mouth of the Harbour, and assumed a position on the main, opposite a ford leading from the Island to the main land, where they were reinforced by a body of militia under General Brown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The night was dark and rainy, and at day break next morning the boats were so scattered that they were unable to effect a landing as intended, before the enemy should have time to line the woods. They first attempted to land on the main, in a cove formed by Horse Island, but on approaching it they found the enemy prepared for them by a heavy fire of musketry from the surrounding woods supported by a field piece. They then pulled round and landed on the outside of the Island, with little or no loss, and pushed forward to the ford, in the face of a hot fire of musketry and the field piece, which they carried in a few moments after landing, with a tumbrel and a few rounds of ammunition. The enemy retreated, and posting them-

selves securely behind large trees, kept up a smart fire upon the British. The fleet in the mean time, as as well as a small vessel with two six pounders, intended to have been landed in time to support the advance of the troops, were, through light and adverse wind, a long way in the rear. Under these circumstances it was impossible to wait for the arrival of the artillery, and Col. Baynes, the Adjutant General of the Forces in British N. America, who was charged with this service, ordered the detachment to divide, in order to scour the woods by pursuing two paths which led in opposite directions round a rising ground. The enemy dislodged from the woods at the point of the bayonet, fled to their fort and blockhouses, whither they were pursued by the British, who set fire to their barracks. At this juncture it was thought by the commanding officer, that the enemy's block houses and stockaded battery could not be carried by assault, even with the assistance of field pieces had they been landed. The fleet were still out of reach to render any assistance in battering them, while his men were exposed to the fire of the enemy secure within their works. The signal of retreat was therefore given to the indignant assailants, and the enterprise was abandoned at a moment when the enemy had so far calculated upon a decisive victory on the part of the British, as to set fire to their naval store houses, hospital and marine barracks, by which all the booty previously taken at York, and the stores for their new ship were consumed. They had also set fire to a frigate on the stocks, but on discovering the retreat of the British, they succeeded in suppressing the fire and saved her. The troops were immediately re-embarked and returned to Kingston. The loss, though heavy on both sides is not correctly

ascertained ; among the British, Capt. Gray, Acting Depy. Q. M. General, was much regretted. He fell while reconnoitering the enemy's works in the hope of discovering some opening to favor an assault.

Thus terminated this expedition to the disappointment of the public, who, from the presence and co-operation of the two Commanders in Chief, fondly flattered themselves with a far more brilliant result. This miscarriage with other reverses at the commencement of the present campaign, destroyed in the opinion of the enemy, the invincibility our arms had acquired the preceding autumn.

Battle at Fort Meigs.

From these humiliating occurrences, we turn with pride to more cheering scenes of action, which effectually retrieved the honor of the British arms in Upper-Canada. General Harrison, notwithstanding the defeat of a division of his army under General Winchester at Frenchtown in February, still persevered in his preparations to recover the Michigan territory, and in pursuance of his views had towards the spring, taken post near the foot of the rapids of the Miami, where he only waited for reinforcements to commence active operations against the British. General Proctor aware of his views, determined to dislodge him before the arrival of his reinforcements, and proceeded for the Miami. He arrived at the neighbourhood of the enemy's position on the 26th of April. The Americans had however, secured themselves by block houses and batteries so as to render every effort of the small artillery of the besiegers unavailing.

In the morning of the 5th of May, a reinforcement, consisting of two regiments amounting to about twelve hundred men under Brigadier General Clay, having rapidly descended the river from Fort Defiance, some distance above Fort Meigs (the American position) made a sudden attack, and surprised the British batteries on the West side of the river, seconded by a resolute and simultaneous sally from the garrison. Having carried the British batteries, they unwarily pursued the Indians, who fell back skirmishing with the enemy, while the main force coming up, by a hasty and judicious movement, circumvented the Americans and intercepted their retreat to the river. After a desperate contest, the enemy surrendered, and upwards of 500 men were made prisoners. They who had sallied from the Fort alone effected their escape, and betook themselves to their fortification. The Indians, although disposed to sacrifice the prisoners according to their mode of warfare, after some excesses, were with difficulty restrained from slaughter by the British, two or three of whom fell victims to the fury of the Savages, in their endeavors to protect the defenceless prisoners. By this partial success the enemy became so crippled, as to be unable to prosecute the campaign with any prospect of recovering Detroit, and General Proctor drew off his forces and returned to Sandwich, under the apprehension of being abandoned by the Indians, who after a battle, according to their custom, retire to the enjoyment of their booty. In this affair, the British loss amounted to one officer (of the militia) and fourteen men killed, and one officer and forty-five men wounded.

Immediately after the capture of Fort George by

the enemy, General Dearborn pushed forward a body of three thousand infantry with nine field pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, as far as the Forty-Mile Creek, for the purpose of dislodging General Vincent, who had assumed a position at Burlington Heights at the head of Lake Ontario; or to prevent a junction of the forces under General Proctor with those of General Vincent, which the Americans understood had been agreed upon by the British. On the 5th of June, General Vincent, was apprized of the advance of the enemy, by the retreat of his advanced picquets from Stoney Creek. Lieut. Colonel Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, immediately moved forward with the light companies of the 8th and 49th Regiments, and having reconnoitered the enemy's position, proposed to General Vincent a nocturnal attack upon his camp, which was approved. At eleven in the evening, the General moved up with the 49th Regiment, and a part of the 8th (his whole effective force only 704 firelocks) toward the American camp, distant about seven miles. Lieut. Col. Harvey led on the attack in gallant style, and completely succeeded in surprising the enemy in the midst of his camp, who, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the consternation and disorder into which they were thrown, evinced a state of order and discipline highly creditable to themselves, in repeatedly forming, although compelled as often to disperse before the resistless energy of the British bayonet. Two Brigadier Generals, (Chandler and Winder,) seven officers of inferior rank, and one hundred and sixteen men, with three guns, one brass howitzer and three tumbrels, fell into the hands of the British by this brilliant and intrepid action, which, as it reduced the Americans from

Battle of Stoney Creek.

Offensive to defensive operations, was probably in its result of more real importance to the salvation of the Upper Province than any other occurrence during the present campaign. The British were ordered to retreat before day light, lest their small strength exposed to the view of the enemy, upon the return of day might be overpowered by their superior numbers.—Finding that the British had retreated, they re-occupied their camp after sun-rise, and having destroyed all their incumbrances, commenced a precipitate retreat to Forty-Mile Creek, ten miles from the scene of action, where they were reinforced on the following day by General Lewis, with a detachment of the army from Fort George. The loss of the British in this affair was one Officer and twenty-two men killed, and twelve Officers and one hundred and fifteen men wounded, and fifty-five men missing.*

* In General Vincent's Official Despatch the following well earned tribute of applause is bestowed upon the Officers and men engaged in this memorable achievement.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without calling your attention to the following Officers:—

"To Lieut. Col. Harvey, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, my obligations are particularly due. From the first moment the enemy's approach was known, he watched his movements, and afforded me the earliest information. To him, indeed, I am indebted for the suggestion and plan of operations: nothing could be more clear then his arrangements, nor more completely successful in the result. The conduct of Major Plenderleath, who commanded the 49th Regiment, was very conspicuous. By his decision and prompt efforts, the surprise of the enemy's camp was completed, and all his efforts to make a stand were rendered ineffectual by the bayonet, which overthrew all opposition. A party of the 49th with Major Plenderleath at their head, gallantly charged some of the enemy's field pieces, and brought off two six pounders.

"Major Ogilvie led on, in the most gallant manner, the five companies of the King's Regiment, and whilst one half of that highly distinguished corps supported the 49th Regiment, the other part moved to

On the evening of the seventh, the British fleet hove in sight, and on the ensuing morning approached the shore and fired a few shot upon the enemy, whom they summoned to surrender prisoners of war. This was refused by the American Officer, who however, deemed it expedient to fall back upon Fort George, while the British, as they retired, pressed upon their rear and occupied the ground they abandoned. Twelve of their batteaux which accompanied the army on its retreat, containing principally officers baggage, fell into the hands of the British fleet, which occasioned the enemy for the present, no other inconvenience than by enabling the British troops to advance with security and to urge the retreat of the Americans.

On the 24th June, a party of about six hundred of the enemy, under Lieut. Colonel Boerstler, who had been despatched the preceding day by Gen. Dearborn,

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the right and attacked the enemy's left flank, which decided our midnight contest.

"I have also received the greatest assistance from Major Glegg, Brigade Major to the Forces, and beg leave to mention the names of Captains M'Doual and Milnes, your Excellency's Aids-de-Camp, who accompanied me to the attack, and upon all occasions have volunteered their services. I have likewise to acknowledge the assistance of Capt. Chambers of the 41st Regiment; who had arrived some days before from Amherstburgh, and Mr. Brock, Pay-Master of the 49th, who assisted me as Acting Aid-de-Camp..

"To Mr. Hackett, Acting Staff-Surgeon to his army, I feel particularly indebted, by which the wounded have received every attention, and are most of them likely to be restored to the service.

"It would be an act of injustice, were I to omit assuring your Excellency, that gallantry and discipline were never more conspicuous than during our short service; and I feel the greatest satisfaction in assuring you that every Officer and individual seemed anxious to rival each other in his efforts to support the honour of His Majesty's arms, and to maintain the high character of British troops."

by way of Queenstown, with a view of dislodging a detachment or picquet, posted at a place called the Beaver Dams, (a few miles from Queenstown) were surprised on their route by a party of Indians under capt. Kerr, and after some skirmishing, believing themselves hemmed in by superior numbers, surrendered to lt. Fitzgibbons of the 49th regt. This Officer, arriving at the conclusion of the business, with a small detachment of forty-six rank and file, completed the victory, and the Americans surrendered themselves prisoners, after negociating a capitulation with him in the name of Major De Haren, by whom he induced the enemy to believe themselves surrounded with considerable force. The latter officer, though not immediately on the ground, was however in the neighbourhood, and advancing with the light company of the 8th Regiment, and the two flank companies of the 104th, with a small body of Provincial cavalry under Capt. Hall. The prisoners taken, were five hundred and twelve in number, including twenty-five officers, with two field pieces, and a stand of colours.

Affair at Beaver Dams.

The enemy, by these partial successes of the British, were compelled to confine themselves to Fort George and its invirons, and before the 1st of July the British had formed a line extending from Twelve-Mile Creek on Lake Ontario, across to Queenstown, on the Niagara river. From Chippawa a descent was made on the American Fort Schlosser on the opposite side of the river, during the night of the 4th of July by a small party of militia and soldiers under Lieut. Col. Clark of the militia, who surprised a small guard at that post, and brought away a brass six-pounder, upwards of fifty stand of arms, a small quantity of stores, with a gunboat and two batteaux.

Lieut. Col. Bishop lately commanding at Fort Erie, at day break in the morning of the eleventh of July, having obtained the approbation of the General Commanding for the execution of an enterprise, which he had previously proposed, crossed over with 240 men, consisting of a small party of militia, and detachments of the 8th, 41st, and 49th regiments. They effectually surprised the enemy's post at Black Rock, where they burnt his block houses, stores, barracks, dock-yard and a vessel; but while occupied in securing the stores to carry them away in their batteaux, the enemy with a reinforcement of militia and some Indians in their interest, under cover of the surrounding woods, opened a smart fire and compelled the British to hasten their retreat, with the loss of thirteen men killed, and a considerable number wounded; among the latter, Capt. Saunders of the 41st regiment severely, and Lieutenant Colonel Bishop mortally, an officer of distinguished merit, whose loss was much regretted by the militia of Upper Canada, with whom he seems to have been a favourite Inspecting Field Officer. Seven pieces of ordnance, two hundred stand of small arms, and a great quantity of stores were brought away.

Attack upon Black Rock.

The two armies, almost in sight of each other, remained inactive, until the arrival of the Commander of the Forces from Kingston, when the speedy reduction of Fort George was confidently expected. The Governor, to ascertain the extent of the enemy's works, and the means he possessed of defending the position which he occupied, determined to make a full demonstration on Fort George; and, on the morning of the 24th of August, the army was put in movement, as if an assault upon that Fort was immediately to take *place.* The British drove in the picquets, several of

which were taken, and advanced within a few hundred yards of the enemy, who, although supported by a fire upon the British from their batteries on the opposite shore, declined leaving their entrenchments to venture into the field. The Commander of the Forces did not deem it adviseable to risk a trial for the recovery of that post, which, by the little utility, the enemy cooped up within the limits of the fort, derived from its occupation, was not of sufficient moment to compensate for the loss, the British must have experienced from an assault. The whole force in the neighbourhood of Fort George at that period did not exceed 2000 men, on an extended line, while that of the enemy in Fort George, exceeded 4000, totally depending upon their own resources for the subsistence of their army, and compelled to act solely on the defensive, from the hostile front assumed by the British in their neighbourhood.

Gen. Harrison in the mean time was on the Sandusky river, making preparations to prosecute the war with vigour in the Michigan territory, as soon as the fleet fitting out at Erie (Presqu'isle,) under Captain Perry, who had been dispatched thither by Commodore Chauncey towards the end of May, should be in sufficient strength to co-operate with the land forces. General Proctor again resolved to make another effort to defeat his purpose, and immediately invested the American Fort at Lower Sandusky then under the command of Major Croghan, with a force consisting of near five hundred men including regulars and militia, and between three and four thousand Indians under Mr. Dixon and the celebrated Indian Chief Tecumseh. After a smart cannonade on the second of August from five six pounders and a

Attack upon Lower Sandusky.

howitzer for the purpose of effecting a breach in the enemy's works, the British (the Indians having previously withdrawn themselves out of reach of the enemy's fire) led on by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Short, advanced unperceived by the enemy under cover of a cloud of smoke to the distance of eighteen or twenty paces of the enemy's works. A heavy fire was immediately opened, which at first threw the assailants into disorder: they however immediately rallied, and having advanced to the outer works, began to leap into the ditch, when a fire of grape slugs was opened from a six pounder (which had been previously arranged so as to rake the ditch) supported with musketry, that dealt destruction among the assailants, and compelled them to retreat with precipitancy, leaving their gallant leader, Lieutenant Colonel Short with three Officers and fifty-two men killed and missing. The wounded amounted to forty-one including three Officers. General Proctor, after this affair, finding his force inadequate, the Indians unaccustomed to the European mode of warfare and the delay of a siege, growing impatient, and General Harrison at no great distance with a respectable force, thought proper to raise the siege and retire to Amherstburgh.

Capture of the Growler & Eagle near Isle Aux Noix

The events in the Lower Province deserve our attention. The old fortifications at the Isle-Aux Noix, emphatically termed the key of Lower-Canada, had been repaired, and three gun-boats sent thither from Quebec. No material occurrence transpired in that neighborhood until the third day of June, when early in the morning a sail was observed from the garrison over a point of land formed by a bend in the river about two

leagues above the Island. This unusual appearance created an alert in the garrison, at that time commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Taylor, Inspecting Field Officer (then Major in the 100th Regiment) who apprehending from previous private information, a combined attack from the naval force on Lake Champlain, and the troops in the neighborhood of his post, commanded by the Brigadier Generals, Smith and Clarke, determined by a decisive *coup de main* to anticipate the views of the enemy. He lost no time in equipping the three gun boats lying unemployed for want of seamen, carrying each a carronade (one of them an eighteen, the two others twelve pounders) and having manned them with soldiers from his Regiment, with three artillery men to each boat, proceeded to engage the enemy: on doubling the point above the garrison, another vessel was discovered a short distance from the former, hitherto concealed by the intervening land. This discovery did not however deter Lieut. Col. Taylor from persevering in his former resolution, and the boats having advanced, a spirited engagement soon ensued, which, after some continuation, was suspended from a deficiency of ammunition, that was however, speedily supplied from the garrison, when the action revived with augmented vigour. Lieut. Col. Taylor had, on leaving the garrison, taken the precaution to man two batteaux with a detachment of soldiers, for the double purpose of rendering assistance to the gun boats in the event of their being either sunk or disabled in the engagement, or to assist in boarding if it should be found necessary; but on seeing the enemy manœuvring up the river with a light southerly breeze, by which they alternately approached the banks of the river, (here more than a mile wide)

he promptly seized the advantage, and directed the landing of one of the batteaux crews on the East, under the direction of Lieut. Williams, and the other on the West side of the river, under that of captain Gordon, with orders to proceed up the river, until opposite the vessels, and to ply them with small arms from either shore.

These detachments on their arrival at the point of destination, poured a destructive fire of musketry on the enemy as they alternately approached the shore. This judicious and well timed measure, combined with a well directed fire from the gun-boats, of round and grape, completely decided the fate of the action, which the enemy most gallantly contested from half past four, until half past eight in the morning, and did not surrender until further resistance became utterly unavailing; one of the vessels being run aground to prevent her sinking. They proved to be the American sloops of War, Growler and Eagle (afterwards named Shannon and Broke, and subsequently by orders from the Admiralty, Chub and Finch) fitted out in the most complete manner for service, each carrying eleven guns, (eighteens, twelves and sixes,) long eighteens on pivots upon the forecastle, with compliments of fifty-five men, comprehending a company of marines, which they had received on board from Champlain the evening previous to the engagement; the whole under the command of Officers of the United States Navy. The gallantry and good conduct of the Officers and men, particularly that of Captain Gordon, Lieutenant Williams, Ensigns Dawson, Gibbon, Humphries, Quarter-Master Pilkington, and Mr. Lowe of the provincial Marine Department, engaged on this

occasion, were highly applauded in Lieut. Colonel Taylor's official despatch. The loss of the enemy was considerable: the prisoners amounted to one hundred men, of whom many were wounded: the killed were thrown overboard during the action. Of the captors, not a man was killed, and only three severely wounded.*— The naval force of the enemy on Lake Champlain was, by the capture of these vessels, almost annihilated, while it afforded the British immediate and effectual means for offensive operations on that Lake, and checked the invasion meditated on the Lower Province. The intention of the enemy, by thus venturing so near to *Isle-aux-Noix*, where the river becomes so narrow as scarcely to afford room to manœuvre with safety, has never been clearly ascertained. It was thought his plan was to have attempted to carry the fortifications of the Island by surprise, or that this approach of their Sloops of War was, more probably, to secure the progress of a regular land force, actually in movement with the supposed intention of reducing the post by a regular siege.

Reduction of Plattsburgh, Champlain & Swanton.

The American Government, with a view of prosecuting the war against Lower-Canada, had been at considerable pains and expence in erecting Barracks, Hospitals and Magazines at different points along Lake Champlain, particularly at Burlington, Plattsburgh, Champlain and Swanton, in the neighbourhood of the fron-

* In this affair no more than 108 men were engaged on the part of the British. It is worthy of notice, that this was the first action in which the 100th Regiment had been engaged; an auspicious omen of the gallantry afterwards displayed by that meritorious corps in common with the other troops at Niagara. It is also a singular fact, that the guns belonging to His Majesty's Sloop of War Alert, some time previously captured by the U. States Frigate Essex, were on board these vessels.

tiers; and it was deemed expedient by the Commander of the Forces, to fit out an expedition at Isle-aux-Noix for the purpose of destroying them, as well as to divert the attention of the enemy from the Upper-Province. The two armed vessels recently captured were put in commission under Capt. Pring, who was sent from the fleet on Lake Ontario, and promoted to them by Sir James Yeo, with the rank of Commander. Capt. Everard, commanding the Wasp Sloop of War, having arrived at Quebec at that juncture, was ordered from thence, with his seamen to the Isle-aux-Noix, where as Senior officer, he assumed the command of the two vessels and the three gun-boats, which had soon been put in a competent state of repair after the action. On the twenty-ninth of July, this small fleet was completely equipped and having received on board about nine hundred men, consisting of a detachment of the 13th Regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Williams (of that Regiment) second in command, and some companies of the 100th and 103d Regiments, under the respective commands of Lieut. Colonels Taylor and Smelt, commanding the right and left wings of the expedition, with some artillery under Capt. Gordon, and a few of the embodied militia as batteaux men, the whole under the command of Col. John Murray, Inspecting Field Officer, moved from Isle-aux Noix for Lake Champlain.

The expedition proceeded up the Lake with much order, and on the 31st landed without opposition at Plattsburgh, from whence General Moore, with a considerable body of men, (reported at about fifteen hundred,) had previously retired on the approach of the British. Here, Colonel Murray having previously

embarked all the warlike Stores, of which a considerable quantity was found in the Arsenal, and having destroyed such as he could not conveniently take away, set fire to the enemy's Arsenal, public buildings, Commissariat Stores and Barracks, recently erected, and capable of accommodating from four to five thousand men. While the troops were thus employed, during that day and the whole of the night, Captains Everard and Pring, in the Growler and Eagle, with a gunboat, proceeded to Burlington, where Gen. Hampton lay encamped with four thousand men, and threw that place into the utmost consternation. Having captured and destroyed, within sight of the enemy's forces, four vessels, Capt. Everard returned to Plattsburg, where the troops were re-embarked, and proceeded to Swanton. Col. Murray, while on the way thither, sent a detachment to Champlain, for the purpose of destroying the Barracks and a Block House at that post. The main body having visited Swanton, and effected the purpose of the expedition to the fullest extent of His Excellency's orders, returned to Isle-aux-Noix, where they arrived on the fourth of August.

The army, acting upon the extensive line of operations along the frontiers of Lower and Upper Canada, (at the lowest computation, one thousand miles from Lake Champlain to Michilimackinac) was, by the able arrangements of the Commissary General, Sir W. H. Robinson, and the unwearied exertions of the Department under his directions, copiously supplied at every point with provisions and commissariat stores of all descriptions. The small post at Lachine was converted into a *depot*, and placed under the superintendance of John Finlay, esq. Deputy Assistant Commissary General,

from whence the whole supplies for the Upper Province, were, by that gentleman, forwarded to Kingston, with the most indefatigable diligence. To intercept the convoys of batteaux with provisions from that post to Kingston, the Americans had sent several cruisers and privateers from Sacket's Harbour to the vicinity of Prescot, and among the *Thousand Islands*. On the 20th July, the enemy having succeeded in surprising and capturing at day break, a brigade of batteaux loaded with provisions under convoy of a gun-boat, with which they retired several miles up Goose Creek, on the South of the St. Lawrence, below Gananoque, three gun-boats under the command of Lieut. Scott of the Royal Navy, were despatched from Kingston with a detachment of the 100th regt. under capt. Martin, with a view of intercepting them on their return to Sacket's Harbour. The proceeded to the lower end of Long Island, where, having ascertained the retreat of the enemy, they immediately pushed for that place, but before they came in sight of the American vessels, the evening was too far advanced to make an attack with any prospect of success; it was therefore determined to defer the attack until the next morning.

Affair at Goose Creek.

Another gun boat arriving in the course of the evening with a detachment of the 41st Regiment, under Major Frend, that Officer assumed the command, and at three o'clock the next morning, proceeded up the Creek with the gun boats, in the hopes of gaining the enemy's position at the dawn of day. They proceeded until the channel became so narrow that the gun boats could neither use their oars nor turn, so as to bring their guns to bear upon the banks, and it was discovered that the enemy had taken precautions to

obstruct their further progress by felling large trees across the Creek. In endeavouring to remove these impediments they were fired upon by the American vessels, and from a gun which they had landed on the left bank, supported with musketry from the surrounding woods. A few of the soldiers who had landed on the right bank having re-embarked in the sternmost boats, leaped into the stream and carrying their muskets on their heads succeeded, after wading through the water and swampy soil contiguous thereto, in effecting a landing on the left bank, and led on by Lieutenant Fawcet, of the 100th Regiment, drove the enemy in gallant style, who retreated with precipitancy to their log intrenchment. This spirited advance saved the gun boats, the foremost of which (the only one that bore upon the enemy) exposed to a galling fire had been disabled. Major Frend finding the enemy strongly posted, and, from the impracticability of bringing the other gun boats into action, that a further perseverance must be attended with a greater sacrifice of lives, than the nature of the enterprise seemed to justify, re-embarked the troops and retired from the unequal contest. In this affair Captain Milnes, Aid-de-Camp to the Commander of the Forces, was mortally wounded. This gallant young officer, had accidentally met Major Frend in pursuit of the enemy, and impelled by a thirst of honor had volunteered his services to assist in accomplishing his purpose. The enemy emboldened by this momentary success, continued to cruise with impunity in the same neighborhood to the annoyance of the Commissariat transport service, when a movement of troops from the Lower to the Upper Province, afforded a momen-

tary opportunity of checking their temerity. Seven Companies of the 100th Regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Taylor, on their route from Isle-aux-Noix, to Upper Canada, arriving in the middle of August at Prescot, Lieutenant Colonel Pearson in command at that post, had previous orders to form an expedition in conjunction with the detachment under that Officer, and about eighty seamen that were to have been there at the same time, (on their route from Quebec to Lake Erie, to man the fleet on that Lake under Captain Barclay,)* in order to dislodge the enemy from Goose Creek, and to scour the *Thousand Islands* infested by his Privateers. The seamen not arriving so soon as expected, and the urgency of the service in the Upper Province, requiring the immediate advance of this reinforcement of troops, there was no time for delay, and the expedition consisting of five gun boats, with upwards of 400 men under the command of Lieutenant Colonels Pearson and Taylor, immediately sat out for Goos Creek, which the enemy precipitately abandoned upon their approach. From thence they cruised for some time among the *Thousand Islands*, and visited Gravelly Point in the vicinity of Sacket's Harbor. This excursion proved of material importance to the security of the transport of provision and stores destined for the Upper-Province, as the enemy's cruisers did not for the remainder of the present campaign infest these waters.

On Lake Ontario the two Naval Commanders strove with indefatigable emulation for the dominion of the

* It has been asserted that the Seamen here alluded to, never reached Lake Erie, as it was found expedient to detain them at Kingston for the service on Lake Ontario.

Lake. Commodore Chauncey after the capture of Fort George, returned to Sacket's Harbour to await the equipment of his new ship the Pike, while his adversary Sir James Yeo, scoured the Lake, and supplied the British army in the neighbourhood of Fort George with abundance of stores. In the early part of July, Sir James fitted out an expedition of boats for Sacket's Harbour, with a view of cutting out their new ship, then almost rigged and ready to appear on the Lake. He arrived unobserved at the vicinity of that port, and would probably have effected his purpose had not the escape of two deserters from his party, which had landed for refreshments, and in order to remain concealed until night should favour the enterprise, given the alarm to the enemy. This unlucky incident induced him to relinquish the undertaking and return to Kingston. Towards the end of July the American fleet again appeared with augmented force upon the Lake, and Commodore Chauncey having received a company of artillery, with a considerable number of troops under Colonel Scott, proceeded for the head of the Lake, with a view of seizing and destroying the stores at Burlington Heights, the principal depot of the army on the Niagara Frontier, then occupied by a small detachment under Major Maule. The design of the enemy against this depot being suspected, Lieut. Col. Battersby, commanding the Glengary regiment, upon being notified to that effect by Lieut. Col. Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General, moved forward from York, and by a march of extraordinary celerity arrived with a reinforcement in time to save the depot, which the enemy, on finding the British ready to receive them, did not

Naval occurrences on Lake Ontario.

deem it prudent to attack. Commodore Chauncey on learning that York, by the advance of Lieut. Col. Battersby to Burlington Heights, was left destitute of troops, seized the opportunity and bore away for that port, which he entered on the 31st of July. Here the Americans landed without opposition, and having taken possession of the small quantity of stores found at that place, they set fire to the barracks and public store houses, and having re-embarked their troops, bore away for Niagara. It is a coincidence of circumstances worthy of notice, that on the same day in which the American Commander was employed in burning the barracks and stores at York, Lieut. Col. Murray was not less actively employed on the same business at Plattsburgh. The British fleet sailed from Kingston on the last day of July, with supplies for the army at the head of the Lake, and on the eighth of August looked into Niagara, where the enemy's fleet lay moored. The latter hove up, and bore down upon the British fleet with which they manœuvred until the tenth, when a partial engagement ensued, in which two small vessels, of forty men each, (the Julia and Growler) were cut off and captured by the British.

Commodore Chauncey somewhat disheartened with the loss of these, and two other small vessels, the Scourge of eight, and Hamilton of nine guns, upset by a press of sail to escape, with the loss of all hands, except sixteen men picked up by the British, bore up for Niagara, from whence he sailed almost immediately for Sacket's Harbour, where he arrived on the thirteenth of August. Here he provisioned his fleet, and instantly made sail for Niagara, where he remained at anchor until the British fleet appeared off that Har-

bour : early in the morning of the seventh of September, when the American fleet again weighed and bore down upon the British, with which they manœuvred until the twelfth, when the latter returned into Amherst Bay near Kingston. During these five days, but few shots were exchanged between the larger ships, without any injury to either side. The Americans, however, had much the advantage in weight of metal and long guns. The fleets again met on the 28th of September off York, when an engagement ensued for near two hours, in which the Wolfe, commanded by Sir James L. Yeo, lost her main and mizen top masts, and would probably have been captured, had not the Royal George, commanded by captain Mulcaster, run in between the Wolfe and the Pike, taking the latter in a raking position, so as to afford the Wolfe an opportunity of hauling off and clearing away the wreck. This affair terminated in the retreat of the British fleet under Burlington Heights, whither the enemy did not think proper to pursue it: a resolution, which if adopted by the American Commander might probably have been fatal to the British fleet on Lake Ontario. On the 1st of October, the American fleet set sail from Fort George with a convoy of troops for Sacket's Harbour, where an expedition was preparing, whose destination was as yet unknown. The British fleet left their anchorage under Burlington Heights on the next day, and came in sight of the enemy, but no attempt was made to bring on a general engagement. The American fleet in their way to Sacket's Harbour fell in with, and captured five small vessels out of seven, with upwards of 250 men of De Watteville's Regiment from York, bound for Kingston, where an attack was appre-

hended. This loss, though apparently trifling in itself, was severely felt, by reason of the few forces in the Upper-Province. For the remainder of the season nothing of moment occurred on this Lake; and indeed the Naval Commanders appear to have considered the question of too great importance to their respective Governments to stake the fate of war in Upper-Canada, upon a decisive naval engagement.

CHAPTER VI.

Naval Engagement on Lake Erie. Evacuation of Detroit by the British. Battle at the Moravian Village and defeat of General Proctor. The British raise the investment of Fort George. Invasion of Lower-Canada by Gen. Hampton, and the defeat of the enemy at Chateauguay by Lieut. Col. De Salaberry. Wilkinson's Expedition. Battle of Chrystler's Farm. Retreat of the Americans to Salmon River. Gen. Drummond assumes the Command in Upper-Canada. Americans evacuate Fort George. British surprise and capture Fort Niagara.

THE campaign towards the autumn assumed a more systematic and menacing character. At the beginning of September, the forces at Burlington (Vermont) under General Hampton, moved across Lake Champlain to Plattsburgh, with a view of penetrating into the district of Montreal, while General Wilkinson

with 10,000 men at Sacket's Harbour, was preparing under the immediate direction of General Armstrong the Secretary of War, a numerous flotilla of batteau and Durham boats, for an expedition supposed to be destined either against Kingston or Montreal. General Harrison with an army of eight thousand men on the Miami river, only waited for the equipment of the American fleet fitting out under Commodore Perry, at Presqu'Isle, to move his forces against Detroit, and to carry on offensive operations against the British in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie. Captain Barclay, who had early in the summer, assumed the command of the British squadron on Lake Erie, blockaded the American fleet, so as to prevent their crossing the Bar at Presqu'Isle (which the enemy could not effect without unshipping their guns,) until the conclusion of August, when having occasion to bear away for Long Point, the enemy seized the moment of his absence and crossed the Bar. Finding on his return the enemy ready for the Lake, and too powerful for his small squadron, he bore away for Amherstburgh, to await the equipment of the Detriot recently launched. Commodore Perry sailed shortly after him for the head of the Lake, and appeared at the commencement of September, for several days successively off Amherstburgh, in defiance of the British squadron, retiring every evening to his anchorage at *Put-in-Bay*. The British forces in the Michigan Territory, and its neighbourhood, falling short of supplies for which they depended solely upon the fleet, Captain Barclay had no other alternative than to risk a general engagement. With this resolution, he made sail from Amherstburgh on the 9th September, manned with only fifty or sixty

seamen, (including a small reinforcement of thirty-six men from Lake Ontario) and Detachments from the 41st, and Royal Newfoundland Regiments, as marines. On the tenth in the morning the enemy's fleet were descried at anchor in *Put-in-Bay*, which immediately weighed and bore down upon the British squadron, while the wind blowing a gentle breeze from the South West, veering round to the South East, gave the enemy the weather-gage. At a quarter before twelve, the British commenced firing, which was in ten minutes afterwards returned by the enemy who bore up for close action. The engagement continued with unabated fury until half past two, when the enemy's principal ship, the Lawrence, being rendered unmanageable, Commodore Perry left her in charge of his first Lieut. Yarnal, and hoisted his Pendant on board the Niagara. Soon after this officer had left the Lawrence her colours were struck, but the British from the weakness of their crews and destruction of their boats, were unable to take possession of her. It was at this anxious and interesting juncture, that the fate of the day seemed to poise in favor of the British; and Commodore Perry even despaired of the victory, when a sudden breeze revived his hopes, and turned the scale in his favor. This fortunate Commander finding the Niagara had suffered lightly in the engagement, made a desperate effort to retreive the fortune of the day, and taking advantage of the breeze, shot ahead of the Lady Prevost, Queen Charlotte and Hunter, raking them with her starboard guns, and engaged the Detriot, which being raked in all directions soon became unmanageable. The Niagara then bore round ahead of the Queen Charlotte, and hauling up on the

Naval action on Lake Erie.

starboard tack, engaged that Ship, giving at the same time a raking fire with her larboard guns to the Chippawa and Little Belt, while the smaller vessels closing to grape and canister distance, maintained a tremendous and most destructive fire. This masterly, and but too successful manœuvre decided the contest. Capt. Barclay, being severely and dangerously wounded, Captain Finnis of the Queen Charlotte, killed, and every Commander, and Officer second in command, either killed or disabled, the Detriot and Queen Charlotte, perfect wrecks, after a desperate engagement of upwards of three hours, were compelled to surrender. By this decisive action, the whole of the British squadron on Lake Erie was captured by the enemy, who now became uncontrollable masters of the Lake. The enemy lost in this action twenty-seven men in killed and ninety-six men wounded. The British lost three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

The Prisoners were landed at Sandusky and treated with the greatest humanity by the American Commodore, who paroled Captain Barclay, and treated that gallant officer with all the kindness and attention which his unsuccessful bravery deserved.

The army in possession of the Michigan Territory and the neighbourhood of Detroit, by this disastrous defeat, were deprived of every prospect of obtaining future supplies from Kingston by way of Lake Ontario, and a speedy evacuation of Detroit and a retreat towards the head of that Lake, became inevitable. Commodore Perry, as soon after the engagement as

circumstances would admit, transported the American forces under the command of General Harrison, from Portage River and Fort Meigs, to *Put-in-Bay*, from whence they were conveyed to the neighbourhood of Amherstburgh, which they occupied on the evening of the 23d of September, General Proctor having previously fallen back upon Sandwich, after setting fire to the Navy Yard, Barracks and Public Stores, at the former place. General Proctor seeing the enemy determined to follow up his first success, by an immediate march upon Detroit, found his troops void of resources, too reduced in numbers to make a stand and dispute occupancy of that Post against the overwhelming force of the enemy. He therefore determined to retreat along the river Thames toward the head of Lake Ontario. On September 26th he evacuated Detroit and Fort Sandwich, and commenced his retreat toward the Thames, having entirely destroyed the public stores at those posts In this reverse of fortune the Indians under Colonel Elliot of the Indian Department, with Tecumseh, still adhered to his standard with unshaken fidelity, and covered his retreat. Harrison occupied Sandwich on the following day (the 27th Sept.) and on the second of October marched in quest of the shattered remains of the British Forces under General Proctor, escorted by a number of batteaux, and three gun-boats, under the immediate direction of Commodore Perry On the 4th of October, he came up with the rear guard of the British, and succeeded in capturing the whole of their ammunition and stores. General Proctor under this second reverse of fortune, by which he was left destitute of the means of subsistence and defence

Evacuation of Detriot by the British.

himself compelled to stake the fate of the rem- of his small army on a general engagement. He dingly assumed a position on the right bank of hames, at the Moravian Town (an Indian vil-) the left of his line resting on the river and sup- d by a field piece, his right on a swamp, at the ace of near 300 yards from the river, and flanked he whole Indian force attached to the division. intermediate ground covered with lofty trees, was nd somewhat elevated. In this position he wait- e approach of the enemy, who having on the morn- f 5th of October, passed the river at a rapid, 12 below the Moravian village, by means of two or boats and a few Indian canoes found on the spot, y crossing a number of infantry behind the horse- came up with the British in the afternoon of that rious day. General Harrison drew up his men o lines, and secured his left flank which was op- d to the Indians, by a Division thrown back *en Po-* , and without any previous engagement by Infan- ordered his mounted Kentuckians (accustomed their boyhood to ride with extraordinary dexteri- rough the most embarrassed woods) to charge ull speed upon the British, which they effect- efore the latter had time to discharge their third fire. By this cavalry charge of the ene- my, the troops, worn down with fatigue and hunger, and dispirited by the unpromising appearance of the campaign, became total- outed and for the most part, surrendered them- es prisoners, while the General, and his personal f, sought their safety in flight. The Indians, in the n time, carried on the contest with the left of the

le at the vian Vil- and de- of Gene- octor.

American line, with furious determination; but these faithful allies, finding all hopes of retrieving the day to be in vain, yielded to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and reluctantly left the field. They however remained in the neighbourhood, and harrassed the enemy on his retreat to Detroit and Sandwich, whither he returned immediately after the action. The British are said to have lost twelve killed and twenty-two wounded. The Americans stated their own loss at seven killed and twenty-two wounded. Thirty-three Indians were found dead upon the field; among them the famous chief and warrior Tescumseh, not less celebrated for his humanity, a virtue little known among Indians in a state of war, than by his bravery, his eloquence, and his influence among our Indian allies. Upwards of six hundred of the British, including twenty-five officers, were made prisoners of war. They who escaped, made the best of their way to Ancaster, at the head of the Lake Ontario, exposed at an inclement season, to all the horrors of a dreary wilderness, of hunger and famine. On the seventeenth of October, they *rendezvoused* at that place to the number of two hundred and forty-six including the General and seventeen officers.*

* The American official statement of the number of prisoners taken in this affair, almost exactly coincides with the British accounts. Gen. Harrison in his Official Despatch, says, "I left the army before an official return of the prisoners, and that of the killed and wounded was made out. It was however ascertained that the former amounted to six hundred and one regulars, including twenty-five officers. Our loss is seven killed and twenty-two wounded, five of which died since. Of the British troops, twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The Indians suffered most—thirty-three of them having been found upon the ground, besides those killed on the retreat."

The British loss can be ascertained from the following extract from

This disaster of the British arms in that quarter, seems not to have been palliated by those precautions, and that presence of mind, which, even in defeat, reflects lustre upon a Commander. The bridges and roads in the rear of the retreating army were left entire, while its progress was retarded by an useless and cumbrous load of baggage. Whether the neglect sprung from a erroneous contempt of the enemy, or from disobedience of the orders of the Commanding Officer, is not well understood; but the defeat led to the harshest recrimination, and involved the division of the brave troops that had hitherto served with honor in the Michigan territory, in undeserved disgrace.

Notwithstanding these events the British still retain-

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the General Order of the Commander of the Forces of the 24th of November, 1813, relative to General Proctor's defeat on the 5th of October, 1813.

Killed, wounded, and missing in the retreat and in the action of the 5th of October, 1813.

1 Inspecting Field Officer, 1 Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master General, 1 Fort Adjutant, 1 Hospital-Mate, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 6 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Pay-Master, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 34 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 559 Rank and File, 46 Horses.

Assembled at Ancaster on the 17th October, 1813.

1 Major-General, 1 Major of Brigade, 1 Aid-de Camp, 1 Staff Adjutant, 3 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter Master, 2 Assistant Surgeons, 15 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 204 Rank and File, 53 Horses.

Total strength of the Right Division on the 10th of September, 1813.

1 Major-General, 1 Inspecting-Field-Officer, 1 Major of Brigade, 1 Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, 1 Aid-de-Camp, 1 Staff-Adjutant, 1 Fort-Adjutant, 1 Hospital-Mate, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 9 Captains, 20 Lieutenants, 5 Ensigns, 1 Pay-Master, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter-Master, 4 Assistant-Surgeons, 57 Serjeants, 26 Drummers, 994 Rank and File, 99 Horses.

ed the rear guard, and covered the retreat of the main body. This small but effective force, and which during the investment had participated in all the fatigues and privations incident to that service, proceeded in the rear of the army by slow and deliberate marches, and though closely pressed for several days by a Brigade of 1500 men under Brigadiers General M'Clure and Porter, from Fort George, so effectually checked their pursuit as to afford time to Gen. Vincent to collect the remains of the right division under General Proctor, and to prepare himself against an attack at Burlington Heights.

After a few days march and constant manœuvring with M'Clure's division, the rear guard finally assumed a position at the already celebrated Stony Creek, from which the enemy did not think it prudent to attempt to dislodge them.

The Commander of the Forces having left Major General De Rottenburgh in charge of the civil and military commands in Upper-Canada, returned to Montreal towards the end of September, to meet the invasion with which the enemy threatened the Lower Province. Gen. Hampton, after having transported his force across Lake Champlain, lay encamped for some days at Cumberland Head, near Plattsburgh. On the 20th of September, he entered Lower-Canada, (his advanced guard having surprised a small picquet early in the morning) at Odletown, at the lower extremity of Lake Champlain, with upwards of five thousand men. The road leading from thence to l'Acadie, and the open country in the neighbourhood of Montreal, lies thro'

a ampy wood of upwards of five leagues which had been cut up and rendered impracticable by abbatis since the preceding campaign, by the Voltigeurs under Lieut. Col. De Salaberry, and was now guarded by a few of the *Frontier Light Infantry*, and some Indians under the direction of capt. Mailloux. These were immediately reinforced by the flank companies of the 4th battalion of the embodied militia under Major Perrault, and the Canadian Voltigeurs under Lieut. Col. De Salaberry who commanded the advance. Had Hampton immediately sent forward a body of riflemen through the woods, he might, without much difficulty, have obtained a footing in the open country near St. John's; which, if he could have succeeded in occupying, must have led to the surrender of the Isle-aux-Noix. He however seems not to have been aware of our weakness, or to have placed little reliance in the discipline and perseverance of his troops. On the 22d September, he evacuated Odletown, and moved with his whole force westward, toward the head of Chateauguay River, under pretext of the impracticability of advancing thro' the Odletown road for want of water for his cavalry and cattle, owing to the extraordinary drought of the season.

At this momentous crisis, the Commander of the Forces issued an animating Proclamation, calling for the exertions of the people in repelling the threatened invasion; and the militia in the district of Montreal, turned out with the same ardour and alacrity as in the preceding campaign.

object of the campaign, as the country from thence to the mouth of the Chateauguay, being principally open and cultivated, afforded no strong points to check his progress to the St. Lawrence, and prevent his junction with Gen. Wilkinson's Division, which in fact was not yet in readiness to move.

General Hampton in the mean time, to distract and divide the attention of the British, directed Col. Clark to carry on a petty warfare on the Eastern side of Lake Champlain, and that ruthless Depredator accordingly infested the settlements in Missiskoui Bay, where he plundered the inhabitants in the most wanton manner.

On the 21st of October, Gen. Hampton again entered Lower-Canada, having early in the morning of that day dispatched his light troops and a regiment of the line, under Brigadier General Izard, to dislodge a small picquet of sedentary militia, and a few Indian warriors, at the junction of the Outarde and Chateauguay rivers, where the main body arrived on the 22d. On the 24th, having opened and completed a large and practicable road from his position at Four Corners, (a distance of 24 miles) through woods and morasses, which Lieut. Col. De Salaberry on returning from Four Corners, had broken up and embarrassed with abbatis, the whole of his artillery (10 field pieces) and stores were brought forward to his new position, about seven miles from Lieut. Col. De Salaberry's post.

Battle of Chateauguay.

From this point he despatched Colonel Purdy with a light Brigade, and a strong body of Infantry of the line, at an early hour in the

night of the 25th, with orders to gain the Ford, and fall on the rear of Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry's position; while the main body were to commence the attack in front. Purdy's brigade proceeded, but were misled and bewildered in the woods, either through the ignorance or treachery of the guides, and did not gain the point of attack as directed by the commanding officer. General Hampton however advanced next morning (26th Oct.) under the expectation of hearing the intended attack at the Ford, and at ten o'clock made his appearance with about three thousand five hundred men, under General Izard on the high road, leading to the abbatis, and drove in a small picquet of twenty-five men, who falling back upon a second picquet made resolute stand, and maintained a smart fire upon the enemy. Lieut. Col. De Salaberry, upon hearing the musketry, promptly advanced with the light company of the Canadian Fencibles, commanded by captain Ferguson, and two companies of his Voltigeurs commanded by captains Chevalier and L. Juchereau Duchesnay. The first of these companies he posted on the right, in front of the abbatis, in extended order, its right skirting on the adjoining woods and abbatis, among which were distributed a few Abenaqui Indians. Capt. Chevalier Duchesnay's company of Voltigeurs in extended order, occupied the ground from the left of this company to the river Chateauguay, and the third company under captain L. Juchereau Duchesnay, with about thirty-five sedentary militia, under capt. Longtain, were thrown back *en Potence* along the margin of the river, for the purpose of flanking, or preventing a flank fire from the enemy in the event of his appearance on the opposite side of the river. The

enemy in the mean time advanced with steadiness in open column of sections to within musket shot, when Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry discharged his rifle as a signal to commence firing, at which a mounted officer was seen to fall. The Bugles sounded and a quick fire was immediately opened upon the enemy who wheeled up into line, and commenced a fire in Battalion vollies, which from the position of their line, was almost totally thrown to the right of the Canadians, and of no effect whatever. They however soon changed their front parallel to their adversaries, by facing to the right, and fileing up with speed, when the engagement became general. The retreat of a few skirmishers, rather advanced in the centre of the line, being mistaken by the enemy for a flight, an universal shout ensued, which was re-echoed by the Canadians, and the reinforcements in reserve under Lieutenant Colonel M'Donnell, while Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry as a *ruse de Guerre* ordered the bugles placed at intervals, in the *abbatis*, to sound an advance: this had the desired effect and checked the ardour of the enemy, who suspected that the Canadians were advancing in great numbers to circumvent them. The noise of the engagement brought on Colonel Purdy's division on the opposite side of the river, which having driven in the picquet of the sedentary militia under Captain Brugnier, were pressing on for the Ford, at which Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry ordered the light company of the 3d Battalion Embodied Militia, under Captain Daly, to cross and take up the ground abandoned by the Picquet. Captain Daly with his company crossed at the Ford, and having advanced fell in with, and drove back the advanced guard of the Americans up-

on the main body, which still pressed forward and compelled him in his turn to fall back. Having repulsed Captain Daly's Company, they were moving on in overwhelming numbers with eagerness and speed close on the bank of the river, until opposite to Captain L. Juchereau Duchesnay's Company, which hitherto lay concealed, and now at the word of command from Lieut. Col. De Salaberry opened so unexpected and effectual a fire upon the enemy, as to throw him into the utmost disorder, and to occasion a tumultuous and precipitate retreat.

General Hampton finding his arrangements disconcerted by the total route of the division on the right bank, withdrew his forces in good order at half past two in the afternoon, without having made a single effort to carry the *abbatis* and entrenchments at the point of the bayonet, leaving Lieut. Col. De Salaberry with scarely three hundred Canadians, masters of the field of action. Towards the close of the engagement, Sir George Prevost, with Major General De Watteville, arrived on the ground, and witnessed in person, the judicious arrangements and successful exertions of Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry and his gallant comrades and countrymen, whose prowess on the occasion called forth the warmest encomiums of the Commander of the Forces, and gave them a just claim to the disinterested and impartial applause of history.

Capt. Daly, while leading on his men, received two severe wounds. Upwards of forty of the Americans were found dead on the field. The loss of the Cana-

lians amounted to five killed and twenty in wounded and missing.*

General Hampton having re-occupied his late position, called a council of war, where it was determined to fall back and occupy the former position at *Four-Corners*, to secure their communication with the United States; from thence either to retire into winter quarters or to be ready to re-enter Lower-Canada. Pursuant to this determination the army retired to *Four-Corners*, while the Canadians hung upon their rear and harassed their retreat.

From the fatigues and privations experienced by this division, exposed for several weeks to the inclemency of the season, the enemy's troops soon assumed the native rawness of recruits, and they were no more capable of co-operating with Wilkinson's division in the combined movement against Montreal. They shortly after fell back upon Plattsburgh and retired to winter Quarters.

The plan of the campaign adopted by the American Government, as subsequently developed by the publication of "Sundry Documents submitted to Con-" gress in obedience to a resolution of that Body of

* The Commander of the Forces was pleased to acknowledge the distinguished support which Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry experienced from the zeal and exertions of Captain Ferguson of the Canadian Fencibles, and from Captains Chevalier and L. Juchereau Duchesnay, from Adjutants O'Sullivan and Hebden, and Captain Lamotte of the Indian warriors. Sir George Prevost, in his official despatch on this occasion, solicited from the Prince Regent, as a mark of his gracious approbation of the Embodied Battalions of the Canadian Militia, five pair of Colours, for the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th Battalions.

"the 31st December, 1813, tending to explain the "causes of the failure of the American arms on the "Northern Frontier," was, by hastily withdrawing their forces from Fort George to Sacket's Harbour, to make a sudden descent upon Kingston, before the British forces could be called in from the Niagara frontier; while Hampton was to make a simultaneous movement on Lake Champlain, indicating an intention of attacking Montreal and its dependencies, and really to attack them if to reinforce the Upper Province, these posts should be materially weakened. The lingering progress of the armament at Sacket's Harbour afforded time to call in reinforcements to Kingston, and after some discussion between General Wilkinson and the Secretary of War, it was determined, at the instance of the latter, to leave that post in the rear and proceed down the St. Lawrence for Montreal. The American forces to about ten thousand men accordingly rendezvoused towards the end of October on Grenadier Island, in the neighbourhood of Kingston, where General De Rottenburgh confidently expecting an attack, was prepared for the event. From this point, after experiencing much foul weather, Wilkinson commenced his movement under cover of the American fleet, and on the 3d November slipt into the St. Lawrence with a flotilla of upwards of three hundred boats of various sizes, escorted by a division of gun-boats. He proceeded to within three miles of Prescot and landed his troops on the American shore, who proceeded downwards by land to a Bay or Cove, two miles below that post, in order to avoid the British batteries, while the flotilla passed them in the night of the sixth, without sustaining any material injury in their passage by the cannonade.

The movement of the flotilla down the St. Lawrence being ascertained at Kingston, General De Rottenburgh detached a small force from that post, consisting of the 49th Regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Plenderleath, the 89th Regiment and some Voltigeurs, which when reinforced by Lieut. Colonel Pearson with a party of the Canadian Fencibles from Prescot, amounted to about 800 rank and file, the whole commanded by Lieut. Colonel Morrison of the 89th Regiment, and accompanied by the Deputy Adjutant-General. This corps of observation proceeded under the escort of a small division of gun-boats, commanded by Captain Mulcaster, R. N. in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 8th came up with them at Point Iroquois. General Wilkinson had on the preceding day directed Colonel Macomb to land on the British shore with 1200 men, in order to clear the coast down to the head of the Long Sault, of the militia collecting along the shore from various parts of the Country. On the 18th this division was reinforced by Brigadier General Brown's Brigade, with a body of Dragoons from the American shore. On arriving at the head of the Long Sault, the whole of the effective men, except such as were required for navigating the boats down the rapid, were landed under the orders of Brigadier General Boyd, who was to proceed down by land in the rear of General Brown's division to the foot of the Long Sault. On the tenth, Lieut. Col. Morrison with the gun-boats visited the American post at Hamilton, where he landed and took possession of a considerable quantity of provisions and stores, belonging to the American army with two pieces of ordnance. Lieut. Col. Harvey in the mean time followed up the enemy, who in the

evening were observed advancing from the woods in considerable numbers with a body of cavalry, but, upon receiving a few rounds from three field pieces, and probably finding their pursuers better prepared than they expected, fell back for the night.* On the ensuing day, Lieut. Colonel Morrison pressed so closely upon the rear of General Boyd's division, as to compel him to concentrate his forces and give battle, a description of which cannot be more accurately conveyed than by quoting Lt. Colonel Morrison's official despatch on the occasion. "The enemy's force, consisting of two brigades of Infantry, and a Regiment of cavalry, amounting to between three and four thousand men, moved forward about two o'clock in the afternoon from Chrystler's Point, and attacked our advance, which gradually fell back to the position selected for the detachment to occupy, the right resting on the river, and the left on a pine-wood, exhibiting about seven hundred yards. The ground being open, the troops were thus disposed :

Battle of Chrystler's Farm.

The Flank Companies of the 49th Regiment, the detachment of the Canadian Regiment, with one field piece, under Lieut. Colonel Pearson, on the right; a little advanced on the road—Three companies of the 89th Regiment, under Captain Barnes, with a gun formed in echellon with the advance on its left, supporting it. The 49th and the 89th thrown more to the rear, with a gun, formed the main body and reserve, extending to the woods on the left; which were occupied by the Voltigeurs, under Major Her-

* Some smart cannonading in the mean time took place between the gun-boats.

riot, and the Indians under Lieutenant Anderson—At about half past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavored by moving forward a Brigade from his right, to turn our left, but was repulsed by the 89th Regiment forming *en potence* with the 49th Regiment, and by moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons; his efforts were next directed against our right, and to repulse this movement, the 49th Regiment took ground in that direction, in Echellon, followed by the 89th. When within half musket shot, the line was formed under a heavy but irregular fire from the enemy—The 49th was directed to charge their guns posted opposite to ours, but it became necessary when within a short distance of them, to check this forward movement, in consequence of a charge from their cavalry on the right, lest they should wheel about, and fall upon the rear, but they were received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th under Captain Barnes, and the well directed fire of the Artillery, that they quickly retreated, and by a charge from those companies, one gun was gained.—The enemy immediately concentrated their force to check our advance, but such was the steady countenance and well directed fire of the troops and artillery, that about half past four, they gave way at all points from an exceeding strong position, endeavouring by their light infantry to cover their retreat, who were soon driven away by a judicious movement made by Lieut. Colonel Pearson. The detachment for the night occupied the ground from which the enemy had been driven."

This, (called the battle of Chrystler's Farm from

the ground on which it occurred,) is in the estimation of military men, considered the handsomest affair during the late war, from the professional science displayed in the course of the action, by the adverse commanders; and when we consider the prodigious preparatives of the American government for that expedition, with the failure of which their hopes of conquest vanished, the battle of Chrystler's Farm may be classed as an event of the first importance in the defence of these provinces.*

The American division after leaving the field, reembarked in haste, while the dragoons, with five field pieces of light artillery proceeded down towards Cornwall, in the rear of General Brown's division, who, unaware of the battle, had continued his march for that

* Lieut. Colonel Morrison concludes his despatch by the following testimony, of the zeal and bravery manifested by the officers and men under his command.

"It is now my grateful duty to point out to your Honor, the benefit the Service has received from the ability, judgment, and active exertions, of Lieut. Colonel Harvey, the Deputy Adjutant General, for sparing whom to accompany the detachment, I must again publicly express my acknowledgements. To the cordial co-operation and exertions of Lieut. Colonel Pearson, commanding the detachment from Prescot, Lieut. Colonel Plenderleath, 49th Regiment, Major Clifford, 89th Regiment, Major Herriot, of the Voltigeurs, and Captain Jackson, of the Royal Artillery, combined with the gallantry of the troops, our great success may be attributed; every man did his duty, and I believe I cannot more strongly speak their merits than in mentioning that our small force did not exceed eight hundred rank and file.

"To Captains Davis and Skinner, of the Quarter Master General's Department, I am under the greatest obligations for the assistance I have received from them; their zeal and activity, have been unremitting,—Lieut. Hagerman of the Militia, and Lieut. Anderson of the Indian Department, have also for their services deserved my public acknowledgments."

place. The enemy lost an able officer in the person of Brigadier General Covington, who, while animating his men to the charge, received a mortal wound, which he survived only two days. The loss of the enemy, by their own official statements, amounted to three officers and ninety-nine men killed, and sixteen officers and one hundred and twenty-one men wounded. The loss of the British amounted to three officers (Captain Nairne of the 49th Regiment and Lieutenants Lorimier and Armstrong,) and twenty-one men killed, and eight officers and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded, and twelve missing.

General Wilkinson, who, during the action, lay confined to his barge, from a protracted illness, in his official despatch to his government, bears faithful testimony of the loyalty of the inhabitants on the Canada side of the Saint Lawrence, and of the bravery and discipline of the troops he had to contend with at Chrystler's Farm.

The day after the engagement, the American flotilla proceeded down the Long Sault and joined near Cornwall the division which had moved on under Gen. Brown, towards that place, where General Wilkinson confidently expected to hear of the arrival of General Hampton on the opposite shore, to whom he had written on the 6th, to that effect, not being then acquainted with his late defeat. Here, to his unspeakable mortification and surprise, he received a letter from Gen. Hampton, informing him that the division under his command was falling back upon Lake Champlain.—This information, with the countless difficulties mo-

mently crowding upon the American army, effectually blasted every prospect of further success. So circumstanced the American Commander immediately held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved "That the attack upon Montreal should be abandoned for the present season, and that the army near Cornwall should immediately be crossed to the American shore, for taking up winter quarters," which, on the ensuing day, was accordingly carried into effect, by their proceeding for Salmon River, where their boats and batteaux were scuttled, and extensive barracks for the whole army were erected with extraordinary celerity, and surrounded on all sides by *abbatis*, so as to render a surprise impracticable.

Wilkinson's intention was to have landed on the Isle Perrot, which is separated from the Island of Montreal, by a small channel, over which he intended to throw a bridge of boats, and from thence to fight his way for the City of Montreal.

Every appearance of danger having subsided, the Commander of the Forces dismissed the Sedentary Militia, by a General Order of the 17th November, with acknowledgments of the cheerful alacrity, with which they had repaired to their Posts, and the loyalty and zeal they had manifested at the prospect of encountering the enemy.

With these operations terminated the Campaign of 1813, in the Lower Province, but new triumphs still awaited the British arms in the Province of Upper-Canada.

Major General De Rottenburgh was relieved in the command of Upper-Canada, early in December, by Lieut. General Drummond, who proceeded from Kingston to York, and from thence to the head of the Lake, where the army again resumed an offensive posture, with a view to regain possession of Fort George. Gen. M'Clure, who on the breaking up of the investment of Fort George, had issued a Proclamation, in which he affected to consider Upper-Canada as abandoned by the British army, and offered the friendship and protection of his Government to the People of that Province, on the approach of the British under Colonel Murray, precipitately evacuated that Post on the 12th December, and retreated across the Niagara, having, pursuant to the directions of the American Secretary of War, most inhumanly on the 10th of December, set fire to the flourishing Village of Newark, containing about one hundred and fifty houses; which were reduced to ashes, leaving the wretched and forlorn inhabitants with upwards of four hundred women and children exposed to the accumulated horrors of famine, and the inclemency of a Canadian winter. The British under the command of Colonel Murray, scarcely amounting to five hundred men, including Indians and Militia immediately occupied Fort George. The barbarous policy of the American Government in destroying Newark, exasperated the army as well as the inhabitants on the Frontier, of whose impatience for retaliation, General Drummond promptly availed himself after the occupation of Fort George, by adopting the resolution of carrying the American Fort Niagara by surprise.

Americans evacuate Fort George.

Having only two batteaux at his disposal in the Niagara river, he deferred the attack until a sufficient number of batteaux could be conveyed over land, several miles, from Burlington at the head of the Lake, which was effected by the exertions of Captain Elliot, of the Quarter Master General's Department. Having made every necessary arrangement, the batteaux were launched, and the troops were embarked on the night of the 18th December, consisting of a small detachment of Royal Artillery, the grenadier company of the Royal Scots, the flank companies of the 41st and 100th regiment, amounting in the whole to five hundred and fifty men, under the immediate command of Colonel Murray. This small force having crossed the river assisted by the Provincial Corps, as boatmen, landed with the utmost silence and good order at the *Five Mile Meadows*, distant four and a half miles from the Fort. From this point, Colonel Murray moved towards the Fort, having previously detached the advance of his division, under Captain Fawcett and Lt. Dawson of the 100th regiment, who gallantly executed the orders entrusted to them, by cutting off two of the enemy's picquets, and surprising the centinels on the Glacis and at the Gate, from whom the watch word was obtained, and the entrance into the Fort, thereby greatly facilitated, which was rapidly effected through the main gate, before the enemy had time to sound the alarm. The assailants having obtained possession of the works, the enemy made for some time a feeble resistance, but finally surrendered at discretion. The valour of the troops engaged on this service, particularly of the 100th regiment, under Lieut. Col. Hamil-

British surprise and capture Fort Niagara.

ton was highly conspicuous. The loss of the British amounted to only one officer (Lieut. Nolan,) and five men killed, and two officers (one of them Colonel Murray, by a musket shot through the wrist,) and three men wounded. The loss of the enemy in slain amounted to sixty-five men, (all with the bayonet,) and two officers and twelve rank and file wounded. The prisoners amounted to more than three hundred effective men of the regular army of the United States. An immense quantity of Commissariat Stores, with upwards of three thousand stand of arms, a great number of rifles and several pieces of ordnance, of which twenty-seven of different calibres were mounted on the works, fell into the hands of the victors. Major General Riall, who had crossed over immediately after Col. Murray, with the whole body of Western Indians, and the 1st Battalion of Royal Scots, and 41st Regiment, in order to support the attack, upon ascertaining its success, immediately marched along the river upon Lewistown, where the enemy had established a force, and had erected batteries with the avowed purpose of destroying the Town of Queenstown situated directly opposite. The enemy, upon the approach of this division, abandoned their position, leaving two guns, a twelve and a six pounder, which fell into the hands of the British, with a considerable quantity of small arms and Stores. In retaliation for the conflagration of Newark, the indignant troops and auxiliary Indians were let loose upon the enemy's frontier, and Lewistown, Manchester, and the circumjacent country were laid in ruins. General Drummond determined to follow up these successes, which he could not deem complete until he had chased the enemy from the whole frontier, and taken

e vengeance for his cruelties toward the inhabi-
of Newark. He therefore moved his forces up
ippawa, where he fixed his Head Quarters on the
December, and on the following day approached
hin two miles of Fort Erie, where having recon-
ed the enemy's position at Black Rock, he deter-
l to attack him in the course of the night. He ac-
ngly directed Gen. Riall to cross the river with
ompanies of the King's Regiment and the light
any of the 89th under Lieut. Col. Ogilvy; two
ed and fifty men of the 41st, and the grenadiers
100th Regiment, under Major Frend, together
about fifty Militia Volunteers and a body of In-
warriors. This division completed its landing
midnight, two miles below Black Rock, its ad-
d guard having surprised and captured the great-
rt of a picquet of the enemy, and secured the
e over the Conguichity Creek, from which the
y made several attempts to dislodge them. The
and batteaux after having crossed his division,
tracked up as high as the foot of the rapids below
Erie, in order to cross the Royals under Lieut.
nel Gordon, who were destined to land above
Rock, for the purpose of turning the enemy's
on, while he should be attacked in front, by the
s who had landed below. The delay occasioned
e grounding of the boats, which detained them
morning, and exposed them to the open fire of
nemy, caused the Royals some loss, and prevent-
em from effecting a landing in sufficient time to
accomplish the object intended. At day break
r General Riall moved forward; the King's regt.
he light company of the 89th leading, and the 41st

and Grenadiers of the 100th forming the reserve. On gaining the town, a very spirited attack was made upon the enemy, who were in great force and strongly posted, and on the arrival of the reserve, the action became general. The enemy maintained his position with obstinacy for some time, but upon the advance of the British he was compelled to give way, and was driven through his batteries, in which were a twenty-four pounder, three twelves and a nine pounder. From Black Rock, the fugitives were pursued to the town of Buffaloe, about two miles distant, where they rallied and shewed a large body of infantry and cavalry, and attempted to oppose the advance of the British by the fire of a field piece; posted on a height commanding the road; finding this ineffectual, they retreated in all directions, leaving a six-pounder brass field piece, one iron eighteen, and one iron six-pounder, and betook themselves to the woods.

General Rial having dispersed this force, immediately detached Captain Robinson of the King's Regiment, with two companies, to destroy three vessels of the enemy's Lake squadron, a short distance below the town, with their stores, which he effectually accomplished.

The Americans in this affair, were not less in number than 2,500, and are supposed to have lost in killed and wounded, from three to four hundred men. Only one hundred and thirty men were made prisoners, and among them Colonel Chapin. The British lost 31 men killed, and four officers, and sixty-eight men wounded, and nine men missing. The small towns of

Buffaloe and Black Rock having been deserted by the inhabitants, were, with all the public stores, containing considerable quantities of cloathing, spirits and flour, which could not be conveniently brought away, set on fire and entirely consumed.

These decisive and retaliatory measures almost entirely crushed the power, and destroyed the resources of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, and although victims of the retributive vengeance brought on their heads by the barbarity of their own Commanders, the wretched inhabitants are said to have acquiesced in the justice of the measures pursued by the British General.

Such were the rapid successes that attendad the British arms in the Canadas, and cheered the hopes of the people at the close of the campaign, which a few weeks previously, threatened the total subjugation of these provinces.

Ample vengeance having been taken by the spirited and judicious promptitude of Lieut. General Drummond, upon the Niagara frontier, for the wanton conflagration and the cruel outrages committed upon the defenceless inhabitants of Newark, the Commander of the Forces, on the 12th of January, 1814, issued a Proclamation, in which he strongly deprecated the savage mode of warfare to which the enemy, by a departure from the established usages of war, had compelled him to resort. He traced with faithful precision and correctness, the conduct that had marked the progress of the war on the part of the enemy, and con-

cluded by lamenting the necessity imposed upon him of retaliating upon the subjects of America, the miseries inflicted upon the inhabitants of Newark, but at the same time declared it not to be his intention further to pursue a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings and so little cogenial to the British character, unless he should be so compelled by the future measures of the enemy.]

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the Provincial Parliament. Parliamentary Proceedings. Chief Justices Impeached. Proceedings of the British and America Governments concerning Hostages for certain Traitors taken by the British at the Battle of Queenstown. Indian Embassy to Quebec. Attack of the Americans under General Wilkinson upon the *La Cole* Mill.

ON the thirteenth of January, the Legislature met for the dispatch of public business. The Governor congratulated the Parliament on the defeat of the enemy at Chateauguay, by a handful of brave Canadians; and on the brilliant victory obtained by the small Corps of observation on the banks of the St. Lawrence, over the formidable armament commanded by Major General Wilkinson.

The Governor, in a secret and confidential message to the House of Assembly informed that body, that in order to carry on the public services he had found it indispensably necessary to direct an issue of Army Bills to a greater amount than five hundred thousand pounds (the sum authorized by the late Army Bill Act) and recommended to the immediate and serious consideration of the House, the expedience of extending the provisions of the Army Bill Act. The House accordingly took the subject into consideration, and passed a Bill extending the issue of Army Bills to fifteen hundred thousand pounds. The Militia Laws underwent some discussion but were not altered, the Legislative Council not concurring with some clauses which it had been found expedient to introduce into the Bill, sent up for their concurrence. A Bill to disqualify the Chief Justices and the Judges of the Courts of King's Bench in the Province from being summoned to the Legislative Council or sitting or voting therein, was introduced, and having passed the Lower House, was sent up to the Legislative Council for their concurrence. Here it was unanimously resolved that the matters contained in the Bill, were unparliamentary and unprecedented, and intrenched upon the prerogative of the Crown and the rights and privileges of the House; and it was therefore also unanimously resolved to proceed no further in the consideration of the Bill. The House of Assembly upon finding it to have been laid aside, appointed a Committee to search the Journals of the Legislative Council, to ascertain officially what proceedings had been taken with respect to the Bill in question. The Committee having taken information on the subject, reported the

fate of the Bill as collected from the Journals of the Legislative Council, and the House among other counter resolutions, indignantly resolved "that the Legislative Council by their refusal to proceed on that Bill had excluded from their consideration a measure highly meriting the attention of the Legislature of the Province and had therefore afforded additional evidence of its expedience." A Bill was also introduced as in the preceding Session "to grant to his Majesty a duty on the Income arising from Civil Offices, and on Pensions, to be applied for the defence of the Province in the present war with the United States of America." This bill was rejected by the Legislative Council. The Bill for the appointment of an Agent in Great Britain was also sent up to the Legislative Council, where it was laid aside.

The House of Assembly unanimously passed a vote of thanks to Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry, and the officers under his command for their distinguished exertions on the 26th of October 1813, in the action on the Chateauguay river, and directed the Speaker to signify the same to Lieut. Colonel Salaberry and the officers present on that occasion, and that the House highly felt and acknowledged the distinguished valour and discipline conspicuously displayed by the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers and militia-men of the little band under his immediate command in the signal defeat of the American army under General Hampton at Chateauguay. To Lieut. Colonel Morrison of the 89th Regiment and to the officers and men under his command a similar vote of thanks was passed for their exertions on the 11th November 1813.

at Chrystler's Farm in the defeat of the American army under General Wilkinson.

The House of Assembly at an early period of the Session, on motion of Mr. J. Stuart, resolved that it would take into consideration the power and authority exercised by the Courts of Justice, in this Province, under the denomination of rules of practice, and the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, as well as the Prothonotaries of the Courts of King's Bench for the Districts of Quebec and Montreal, were respectively ordered to lay before the House, certified copies of the Rules of Practice of those Courts. On the 4th of February, the subject having been previously discussed in Committee, the House adopted several resolutions concerning those Rules of Practice, which it considered rather in the sense of Legislative enactments, and therefore an encroachment on the privileges of the Legislature, than as simple rules or regulations for the guidance of judicial proceedings. The rules in question had first been framed and introduced into the Provincial Court of Appeals (where the Chief Justice of the Province, and the Chief Justice of Montreal, alternately preside) in January, 1809, and in the same year, the Courts of King's Bench at Quebec and Montreal, followed the example of the Courts of Appeals, under the sanction of an Act of the Provincial Legislature, giving the different "Courts of Judicature "in the Province, power and authority to make and "establish Orders and Rules of Practice in the said "Courts in all civil matters, touching all services of "process, executions and returns of all writs, proceed-"ings for bringing causes to issue as well in term time as

" out of term, and other matters of regulation within " the said courts." It was, however, now maintained in the House of Assembly, that these rules affected the civil rights of His Majesty's subjects, and were contrary to and subversive of the laws of the province: that they rendered the enjoyment of liberty and property altogether insecure and precarious, and gave to the Judges an arbitrary authority over the persons and property of His Majesty's Subjects in the province. For these, and other specific political high crimes and misdemeanors, alledged to have been committed in the course of the late administration of the Colonial Government by Sir J. H. Craig, tending to mislead and deceive that officer in the exercise of his authority, to oppress the people and alienate their minds from His Majesty's Government, in order (as it was contended) to favor the progress of American influence in the Province, the two Chief Justices were formerly impeached by the Commons of Lower-Canada.

Mr. J. Stuart was appointed Agent for the purpose of prosecuting the Impeachments with effect, on behalf of the Commons of Lower-Canada, who, in a money Bill, appropriated the sum of two thousand pounds, in order to enable him to proceed to England, in consequence of which the Bill was rejected by the Legislative Council.* The Impeachments having been digested into seventeen different heads against the Chief Justice of the Province, and into eight heads against the Chief Justice of Montreal, charged among other things, with promoting and advising certain criminal

* This Bill contained a grant of £20,000, for the Militia, and a like sum for the support of the War.

prosecutions at Montreal, and sitting in judgment upon them; and with having refused a Writ of *Habeas Corpus* to persons legally entitled thereto, the House of Assembly on the 3d of March, went up to the Castle with their Speaker, and presented an Address to the Governor, praying him to transmit the impeachment, with an Address to the Prince Regent drawn up for the occasion, to His Majesty's Ministers, to be laid before the Prince Regent. They at the same time suggested the propriety of suspending the Chief Justices from their public functions, until the Prince Regent's pleasure should be known.

The Governor replied that he would take an early opportunity of transmitting the Address, with the articles of accusation against the Chief Justices, to His Majesty's Ministers; but hat the did not think it expedient to suspend the Chief Justices from their offices, upon an Address to that effect from one branch of the Legislature alone, founded on articles of accusation, on which the Legislative Council had not been consulted, and in which they had not concurred. This answer gave umbrage to the House, which, upon returning from the Castle, among other resolutions, resolved "that His Excellency the Governor in Chief, by his answer to the Address of the House, had violated the Constitutional rights and privileges thereof." On the seventh of March, the House, probably influenced by a sense of justice towards the Governor, whose conduct it had so recently censured, in mitigation of its late resolution, again resolved, "that notwithstanding the wicked and "perverse advice given to His Excellency on the sub-"ject of the Constitutional rights and privileges of that

" House, and the endeavours of evil disposed advisers " to lead him into error, and to embroil him with his Ma- " jesty's faithful Commons of this Province, the House " had not in any respect altered the opinion it had " ever entertained of the wisdom of his Excellency's " Administration, and that it was determined to adopt " the measures it had deemed necessary for the sup- " port of the Government and the defence of the Pro- " vince."

The House also drew up an Address to the Prince Regent on the state of the Province, and the progress of the war with the United States, in which the exertions of the people and the urgency of early assistance were briefly expressed.*

Such were the principal affairs that occupied the attention of the House of Assembly during the present Session which on the seventeenth of March was prorogued by the Governor.

It has been already mentioned that among the prisoners taken at the battle of Queenstown in the autumn of 1812, twenty-three men were recognized as deserters, and British born subjects. As traitors to their country, the commander of the forces had sent them to England for legal trial. This circumstance being made known to the American government by the American Commissary of prisoners at London, General

* The strength of the six battalions of Canadian Embodied Militia amounted in the month of December, 1814, according to a return submitted to the House of Assembly, to 3893 men, exclusive of the Voltiguers, the Frontier Light Infantry, and other Militia and Provincial Corps.

Dearborn was ordered by his government to put an equal number of British soldiers into close confinement as hostages, for the former. In consequence of this measure, the commander of the forces, by a general order of the 27th of October, 1813, made it known that he had received the commands of the Prince Regent to put forty-six American officers and Non-Commissioned Officers, into close confinement as hostages, for the twenty-three soldiers confined by the American government. He at the same time apprised that government, that if any of the British soldiers should suffer death by reason of the guilt and execution of the traitors found in arms against their country, who had been sent to England for legal trial, he was instructed to select out of the American officers and Non-commissioned officers detained as hostages, double the number of the British soldiers who might be so unwarrantably put to death, and to cause them in retaliation, to suffer death immediately. In transmitting this information to the American government, the commander of the forces also notified them, that the commanders of His Majesty's armies and fleets on the coast of America, had received instructions to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all cities, towns and villages belonging to the United States, and against the inhabitants thereof, if after that information should have reached the American government, they should not be deterred from putting to death any of the soldiers detained as hostages.

On the tenth of December, the commander of the forces received a communication from Major General Wilkinson by Colonel Macomb, of the United States

army, bearing a flag of truce, stating, "that the government of the United States, adhering unalterably to the principle and purpose declared in the communication of General Dearborn, on the subject of the 23 American prisoners of war, sent to England to be tried as criminals, and the confinement of a like number of British soldiers, prisoners selected to abide the fate of the former, had, in consequence of the step taken by the British government, ordered forty-six British officers into close confinement, and that they should not be discharged therefrom until it should be known that the forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers in question, were no longer confined." In consequence of this, the Governor ordered all the American officers, prisoners of war, without exception of rank, to be immediately placed in close confinement as hostages, until the number of forty-six were completed over and above those already in confinement. In pursuance of this order, Generals Winder, Chandler and Winchester, were conveyed from their quarters in the country at Beauport, to a private house in Quebec, where their confinement was rendered as little inconvenient as their situation could admit of.

On the fifteenth of April following, after some negociation between Colonel Baynes the adjutant-general, and brigadier-general Winder, on the part of the American government, a convention was entered into at Montreal, by which it was mutually agreed, to release the hostages and make an exchange of prisoners, the American government relinquishing its pretensions to retaliate for the prisoners sent to England, for legal

trial as traitors to their country. This convention was ratified in July at Champlain, near the lines, by Col. Lear, deputed for that purpose by the American government, and by Colonel Baynes and Mr. Brenton, on the part of the British government.*

The most active exertions were made during the winter to be prepared for the ensuing campaign. Stores of all descriptions were forwarded to Kingston, from Quebec and Montreal on sleighs at prodigious expence. The second battalion of the 8th regiment, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Robertson, marched through the woods from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence in the month of February. A reinforcement of two hundred and twenty seamen for the Lakes came by the same route. To expedite the progress of these reinforcements, the Legislature of New-Brunswick voted three hundred pounds, and the City of St. John gave a similar sum to defray the expence of conveying them on sleighs, as far the nature of the roads would permit.

In the month of March an Embassy of Chiefs and Warriors from the Ottawas, Chippawas, Shawnees, Delawares, Mohawks, Saiks, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Winabagoes, arrived at Quebec to visit and to hold a Council with the Commander of the Forces. His Excellency on the fifteenth of that month gave them an audience, and held a *Talk* or conference with them at the Castle of Saint Lewis. Their speeches were prin-

* The negociation was opened at the solicitations of the American government in a letter from the Secretary of State, to Sir George Prevost, who consented to the exchange of Brigadier-General Winder for the purpose of negociating.

cipally complimentary and expressive of their joy on beholding their Father, and meeting him in Council. They expressed their poverty, and requested that peace might not be concluded with the American government, until they recover the ancient bounds of their territories of which the enemy had deprived them by fraud and by violence. They represented the loss they had experienced of their young men in the war, but expressed their determination to persevere, and solicited arms for their Warriors, and clothing for their women and children. "The Americans (said one of "the Chiefs) are taking our lands from us every day, "they have no hearts, father, they have no pity for "us, they want to drive us beyond the setting Sun; "but we hope, although we are few, and are here as it "were upon a little Island, our great and mighty father "who lives beyond the great Lake, will not forsake "us in our distress, but will continue to remember his "faithful red children." The Governor in answer, strongly exhorted them to persevere in the contest against the common enemy, in order to regain the territory lost in the last campaign. He expressed his sorrow for the loss of one of their Warriors (Tescumseh) and for that of many other valiant Chiefs during the war. He charged them upon all occasions, to spare and shew mercy to all women, children and prisoners that should fall within their power, an injunction to which the listening Chiefs unanimously murmured approbation. After some days residence at Quebec they were loaded with presents, and despatched for the Upper-Province in their way homewards, to prepare their tribes for the approaching campaign.

On the twenty-sixth of March, His Excellency issued a General Order expressing the approbation of the Prince Regent of the affair of Chateauguay, and his "peculiar pleasure at finding that His Majesty's Canadian Subjects had at length the opportunity of refuting by their own brilliant exertions in defence of their Country, the calumnious charge of disaffection and disloyalty, with which the enemy had prefaced his first invasion of the Province." To Lieut. Colonel De Salaberry in particular, and to all the officers and men under his command, the sense entertained by His Royal Highness of their meritorious and distinguished services was made known. The Commander of the Forces at the same time acquainted the militia of the determination of His Royal Highness to forward Colours for the five Battalions of Embodied Militia, feeling that they had evinced an ability and disposition to secure them from insult which gave them the best title to such a mark of distinction. So flattering a testimony of the Royal approbation could not fail to raise the honest pride of the Provincial Militia, but they were disappointed in their hopes, and the promise still remains to be accomplished.

A movement of the American forces in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain towards the conclusion of March, gave room to expect an invasion of the District of Montreal. Brigadier General Macomb with a division of the American forces from Plattsburgh crossed Lake Champlain upon the ice, and entered St. Armands, where he remained some days without molestation, while General Wilkinson prepared for an attack upon the outposts of Odeltown, and the La Cole

Mill, a stone building which had been converted into a Block House. On the morning of the thirteenth of March, (General Macomb having suddenly withdrawn his division from St. Armands, and rejoined the main body) the American forces consisting of five thousand men, commanded by General Wilkinson in person, entered Odeltown. Major Handcock, commanding at the Mill, received intelligence at eight o'clock in the morning of the approach of the enemy, and immediately sent off a despatch to the Isle-aux-Noix for a reinforcement, from whence a picquet of the 13th regt. under the command of Captain Blake, marched towards Odeltown, and took post about two miles from the Mill. The enemy halted for a short time at the village, and then made a demonstration upon Burtonville with a part of their force. Their advance in that direction was checked by part of the grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles under Captain Cartwright, and a few of the Frontier Light Infantry under Captain Barker. Capt. Blake's picquet hearing the firing, concluded that the whole of the enemy's force had taken that road, and in consequence retreated to the Mill, from whence they again advanced and took post in advance. The enemy shortly after appeared in considerable force; the picquet fired three vollies and retreated to the Mill. At one o'clock the enemy was seen deploying in the wood, with the intention of surrounding the Mill; a fire was immediately commenced which they did not return for some time, but appeared determined to carry the place by assault, as they advanced cheering one another: the heavy fire obliged them to relinquish their plan and retreat to the wood, where they were completely sheltered. A twelve

Attack upon La Cole Mill.

pounder was brought to bear upon the mill, but so badly served, that during a cannonade of two hours and a half, only four shots struck the building, the gun being within the range of musketry the artillery suffered severely, and in fact were unable to take aim with any degree of precision. A gun-boat from the Isle-aux-Noix, commanded by Lieut. Hicks, R. N. kept up an incessant fire upon the spot where the American army was posted, but from the distance and the height of the intervening woods little or no execution was done. The two flank companies of the 13th Regiment arrived from the Isle-aux-Noix at half past two o'clock, and were immediately ordered to charge the enemy in front—they advanced as far as the wood in line, but the difficulty of marching through the snow with a galling fire in front, and on the left flank, checked the rapidity of their progress, and soon compelled them to retire to the Block House. The grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles and a company of the Voltiguers just now arriving from Burtonville, Major Handcock ordered them to support the flank companies of the 13th Regiment in a second charge, to which they advanced in column of sections.* The Americans had now concentrated their whole force close to the gun, but did not attempt to fire till the British had advanced to within twenty-five yards of their centre, and were completely flanked on both sides: the first discharge of the enemy was so effectually destructive that these companies were entirely broken, and com-

* The force in the Mill when attacked, was 160 men. The reinforcements which arrived during the action, amounted to about two hundred men. Some accounts (which have been considered probable) state the American loss at 13 killed, and 123 wounded and 30 missing.

pelled to retreat from the woods in the greatest disorder. All attempts to rally them were ineffectual, and they were recalled by the bugle to the Block House. It is conjectured that the gun was spiked by the enemy during the first charge, as it was not made any use of afterwards. The Americans exhausted with cold and fatigue, and finding it impossible to carry the place without heavy artillery, which from the state of the roads, could not be brought forward, withdrew their forces in good order from the contest, at five o'clock in the afternoon, without being pursued in the retreat—The British loss amounted to ten men killed and four men missing, and two officers and forty-four men wounded. The American loss, though considerable, has not been precisely ascertained. Having failed in the attempt to carry a Block House scarcely deserving the appellation of a military post, the enemy fell back upon Champlain town, from whence they soon retired to Plattsburgh. General Wilkinson after this abortive attempt to retrieve his military fame, seems to have been removed from his command, or to have sought a voluntary retirement, from a service in which he had experienced nothing but disappointment and reverses.

CHAPTER VIII.

Occurrences during the winter 1813-14. Attack upon Oswego. Invasion of Upper-Canada by the American forces under General Brown. Capture of Fort Erie. Battle of Chippawa. Battle of Lundy's Lane. Assault upon Fort Erie. Capture of Prairie du Chien. Expedition against Michillimackinac by the Americans. Operations by Sir John C. Sherbrooke. Expedition to Plattsburgh. Sortie from Fort Erie. Evacuation of Fort Erie by the American Forces. Miscellaneous occurrences. Meeting of the Provincial Parliament. Recall of Sir George Prevost. His departure from Quebec.

IN Upper-Canada the occurrences during the winter were of small importance, being principally confined to incursions reciprocally practised by the troops in advance along the frontiers with various success. One of the most successful enterprises effected in the course of the present season, was planned and executed by Captain Sherwood, of the Quarter-Master-General's Department. That officer with a subaltern, and a small detachment of twenty rank and file of the Marines and ten men of the embodied militia, under Captain Kerr, proceeded over the St. Lawrence, on the night of the 6th of February, from Cornwall in Upper-Canada, to Madrid, on Grass River, fourteen miles beyond the village of Hamilton, and brought away a considerable quantity of merchandise (having pressed all the horses and sleighs he could find, for that purpose) plundered from British merchants near Cornwall in October preceding, when on their route to Upper-

Canada. These effects were to have been sold on account of the United States government, notwithstanding an agreement for their restitution entered into on the 10th of November, by Judge Ogden and Mr. Richardson on the part of the United States, and Lieut. Colonel Morrison and Captain Mulcaster, (Royal Navy,) on the part of the British Government. The Inhabitants made no opposition to the seizure and transportation of these effects, nor did they experience any molestation from the party, who, at two o'clock on the ensuing day retured to their quarters with the most valuable of the Merchandise for which they proceeded to Madrid.

A slight loss was experienced in an unsuccessful effort made by a detachment consisting of the flank companies of the Royal Scots and the light company of the 89th Regiment, under the command of Captain Barsden of the 89th, for the purpose of dislodging a strong party of the enemy who had taken post at Longwood in the advance at Delaware town. The enemy had secured themselves on a commanding eminence behind log entrenchments, and were attacked at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of March by this force, supported by a flank movement to the right of a company of militia Rangers under Captain Caldwell, with a detachment of the Kent Militia, and a similar movement by a party of Indians to the left. After several repeated but unsuccessful efforts to dislodge the enemy in a spirited contest of an hour and a half, the troops having suffered severely, were withdrawn. The enemy soon afterwards abandoned the position. The British lost two officers and

twelve men killed, and three officers and forty-nine men wounded, including an officer and six men of the Kent Militia Volunteers, who distinguished themselves on the occasion.

The campaign was opened in Upper Canada by Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James L. Yeo, under the most cheering auspices. The American forces along the Lake Champlain, after leaving small garrisons at Plattsburgh, Burlington and Vergennes, moved early in the spring towards Lake Ontario and the Niagara frontier, with a view of resuming offensive operations against the Upper Province, as soon as the fleet at Sacket's Harbour (considerably augmented during the winter) should be in a state to co-operate with the land forces. The principal Naval Stores for the equipment of the fleet were forwarded to Sacket's Harbour by the way of Oswego, and as the British Naval force at Kingston, strengthened by two additional ships, the Prince Regent and Princess Charlotte, were ready to appear on the Lake early in the season, it became an object of importance to intercept the enemy's supplies, and by that means retard his preparations for invasion. An expedition against Oswego was therefore determined upon, and Gen. Drummond having embarked a considerable force, consisting of six companies of De Watteville's regiment, the light company of the Glengaries, the second Battalion of the Royal Marines, with a detachment of Royal Artillery and two field pieces, a detachment of a Rocket company, with a few Sappers and Miners, set sail from Kingston on the fourth of May, and at noon on the following day, made the port of Oswego, when a hea-

Attack upon Oswego.

vy gale from the North West sprung up, and obliged the squadron to gain the offing. On the morning of the sixth, a landing was effected by about one hundred and forty of the troops under Lieut. Col. Fischer; and two hundred seamen, armed with pikes, under the command of Captain Mulcaster, R. N. in front of a heavy discharge of round and grape from the battery, and of musketry from a detachment of about three hundred men of the American army, posted on the brow of the hill, and in the skirts of the neighbouring wood. The British, on landing, pressed up the hill towards the enemy's battery, which the Americans (upon finding the British determined to carry it by storm) relinquished, leaving about sixty men, principally wounded.

The Land and Naval commanders having taken possession of the stores found in the Fort and in its neighbourhood, and having dismantled the fortifications, and destroyed the barracks, re-embarked on the seventh of May, and returned to Kingston.

The loss of the British troops amounted to one captain (Holtaway of the Marines) and eighteen men killed, and two Officers and sixty men wounded. That of the Navy amounted to three men killed, and four Officers and seven men wounded. Captain Mulcaster, while entering the Fort at the head of his men, received a very severe and dangerous wound. Captain Popham was also severely wounded. Although the service derived much benefit from this Expedition, the main object in contemplation was not accomplished, the principal part of the Naval stores being saved

by the enemy, who had taken the precaution of depositing them at the Falls, some miles from Oswego, up the river.

The flotilla at the Isle-aux-Noix, under the command of Captain Pring, proceeded up the Lake Champlain, on the ninth of May with a detachment of Marines, for the purpose of capturing or destroying the new vessels recently launched at Vergennes, or of intercepting the stores and supplies intended for their armament and equipment. On the 14th, Captain Pring reached his destination at Otter Creek, but finding the enemy prepared for his reception, he judged it expedient to abandon his intended plan of attack, and returned to the Isle-aux-Noix.

The British squadron having for the present a decided ascendency on Lake Ontario, blockaded Sacket's Harbour, in order to intercept the supplies which might, from time to time, be forwarded from Oswego, for the equipment of the American fleet. On the morning of the 29th of May, a boat laden with two 24 pounders and a large cable for one of the American ships of war, was captured on the way to Sacket's Harbour from Oswego, from whence it had sailed in company with fifteen other boats loaded with naval and military stores. This intelligence induced the Naval Commander to dispatch Captains Popham and Spilsbury, with two gun-boats and five barges, in quest of the enemy's boats, which, these officers ascertained to have taken shelter in Sandy Creek, whither they proceeded with the resolution of capturing or destroying them if the attempt should be found practi-

cable. On the morning of the 31st of May, the boats from the British squadron entered the Creek, and Captains Popham and Spilsbury, having reconnoitred the enemy's position, determined on an immediate attack, which although aware of the hazard of the enterprise they determined to risk, as the stores in possession of the enemy were of the utmost importance to the armament of their squadron. The boats advanced cautiously up the Creek to within half a mile of the enemy, when parties were landed on either bank, who advanced on the flanks of the gun-boats, to a turning which opened the enemy's boats full to their view. It was at this juncture, when, by some accident, a sixty-eight pounder carronade in the bow of the foremost gun-boat being disabled, it became necessary to pull her round to bring the 24 pounder in her stern to bear upon the enemy. The Americans mistaking this movement for the commencement of a retreat advanced with their whole force, consisting of one hundred and fifty riflemen, near two hundred Indians, and a strong body of militia and cavalry; who after a short though desperate contest, from which it was impossible to effect a retreat, overpowered the British party, consisting of about two hundred men, of which, it is said, eighteen were killed and fifty wounded. Captain Popham in his official despatch to Sir James L. Yeo, on this affair, acknowledged with the warmest gratitude, the humane exertions of the American Officers of the Rifle Corps commanded by Major Appling, in saving the lives of many of the officers and men, whom the American soldiers and Indians were devoting to slaughter.

The American forces concentrated at Buffaloe,

Invasion of Upper Canada.

Black Rock and other places on the Niagara frontier, under the command of Major General Brown, in momentary expectation of the co-operation of the squadron on Lake Ontario, were ready at the end of June to invade Upper-Canada. On the morning of the third of July, the enemy embarked in boats and batteaux and effected a landing on the Canada side without opposition, with two strong brigades under Brigadiers Scott and Ripley, at two points on the shore above and below Fort Erie, each about a mile distant from that post, then under the command of Maj. Buck of the 8th Regiment. That Officer had been active in putting Fort Erie into a state of defence, and with a small detachment of about seventy men was left in charge of it, more with a view of causing a temporary check to an invading force than for the purpose of defending it against a regular siege, which was not intended. It would indeed have been impossible to maintain Fort Erie for any length of time against the overwhelming strength of the enemy, but a resistance of even a few hours might have been of material consequence and have enable General Riall to have repelled the invasion at the outset. The able dispositions which had been made of the forces under that Officer, along the Niagara line by the direction of Lieut. General Drummond, who had anticipated an invasion at the point where it commenced, were such, that the least impediment to the progress of the invaders would have enabled General Riall to have concentrated his troops, and to fall upon and disperse the enemy before they could have time to be prepared for an effectual resistance. Under these circumstances, it is much to be

Capture of Fort Erie.

regretted, that Fort Erie was tamely surrendered to the enemy without firing a shot or making even a show of resistance. The Americans after the acquisition of this important post, advanced with confidence in the afternoon of the ensuing day to the Plains adjacent to Chippawa, and were making preparations to carry that post, when General Riall, to anticipate their design, having collected his forces, marched on the evening of the fifth from his lines and gave them battle. The enemy had much advantage in numbers and fought with determined bravery. His right rested on some buildings and orchards on the brink of the Niagara, and was strongly supported by artillery. His left was skirted by a wood with a considerable body of Indians and Riflemen in front. The Militia and Indians engaged the enemy's riflemen, who, at first checked their advance, but being supported by the arrival of the light troops consisting of the light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th Regiment, with the 2d Lincoln militia, under Lieut. Colonel Pearson, they were dislodged after a very sharp contest. Two light twenty-four pounders and a howitzer were brought into action against the enemy's right, which was also engaged by the King's Regiment, while the Royal Scots and 100th Regiment, after deploying with the utmost steadiness, opened a heavy fire upon his left and advanced to the charge, with the most intrepid gallantry, under a destructive fire. In this attempt they suffered so severely that it was found necessary to withdraw them and desist from a contest, which from the great superiority of the enemy's numbers, must have been unavailing. General Riall according-

Battle of Chippawa, or Street's creek

ly fell back upon Chippawa in the evening, and to prevent the enemy from occupying Burlington Heights by a forced march (as he intended) he threw such reinforcements as he could spare into Forts George, Niagara and Mississaga, and retired to Twenty-Mile Creek, on the route to Burlington, where he prepared for a vigorous stand against the progress of the enemy to that post. The American squadron was not however ready to appear upon the Lake during these occurrences; a circumstance peculiarly fortunate as their appearance would have so emboldened their army, far superior in numbers to the British, as probably to have led to the reduction of Forts George and Niagara. The militia under Lieut. Colonel Dickson, (who was wounded) behaved with gallantry. The British lost six Officers and one hundred and forty-two men killed, and twenty-six Officers (among them Lieut. Colonel the Marquis of Tweedle, severely) and two hundred and ninety-five men wounded, and one Officer and forty-five men missing. The enemy state their loss at seventy men killed, and nine Officers and two hundred and forty men wounded, and nineteen missing.

The enemy after this affair, gradually advanced along the Niagara, and occupied Queenstown, from whence he made demonstrations upon Forts George and Mississaga, but finding Lieut. Colonel Tucker, who had been left in command of those posts, on the alert, and determined to make a resolute defence he desisted from further attempts to carry them.

General Brown finding a stouter resistance than he

expected, fell back upon Queenstown,* from whence on the 25th of July, he retreated with his whole force upon Chippawa, having previously set fire to the village of Saint David's. General Riall immediately put his advance in motion, and was moving on to support the advance of his division, when the enemy wheeled about with a view of overpowering his forces before they could be assisted by the reinforcements which were expected to join them. General Drummond, with Lieut. Colonel Harvey, had that morning arrived at Fort George, from York. The proceedings which immediately succeeded his arrival cannot be more concisely and clearly explained than in his own official despatch, after the battle of Lundy's Lane, which is quoted as the best relation to be found, of that hard fought action.

Battle of Lundy's Lane

'I embarked on board His Majesty's 'schooner Netley, at York, on Sunday 'evening the 24th instant, and reached Niagara at 'day-break the following morning. Finding from Lt. 'Colonel Tucker that Major General Riall was un- 'derstood to be moving towards the falls of Niagara 'to support the advance of his division, which he had 'pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I 'ordered Lieut. Colonel Morrison, with the 89th regt. 'and a detachment of the Royals and King's, drawn

* This it would seem however, was contrary to the orders and instruction of the General Commanding, who in general orders, expressed his displeasure at the circumstance, and desired Lieut. Col. Stone, commanding at that village, to retire from the army in consequence of his conduct. This officer was afterwards dismissed the service on account of this business, without a hearing.—The village at Long Point, was also reduced to ashes by these incendiaries.

'from Forts George and Mississaga, to proceed to the 'same point, in order that, with the united force, I 'might act against the enemy (posted at Street's Creek, 'with his advance at Chippawa) on my arrival, if it 'should be found expedient. I ordered Lieut. Colonel 'Tucker, at the same time, to proceed on the right 'bank of the river, with three hundred of the 41st, and 'about two hundred of the Royal Scots, and a body 'of Indian Warriors, supported (on the river) by a 'party of armed seamen, under Captain Dobbs, Royal 'Navy. The object of this movement was to disperse 'or capture a body of the enemy which was encamp-'ed at Lewistown. Some unavoidable delay having 'occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, 'the enemy had moved off previous to Lieut. Colonel 'Tucker's arrival. I have to express myself satisfied 'with the exertions of that officer.

'Having refreshed the troops at Queenstown, and 'having brought across the 41st, Royals and Indians, 'I sent back the 41st and 100th regiments to form the 'garrisons of the Forts George, Mississaga, and Ni-'agara, under Lieut. Colonel Tucker, and moved, with 'the 89th, and detachments of the Royals and King's, 'and light company of the 41st, in all about 800 men, 'to join Major General Riall's division at the Falls.

'When arrived within a few miles of that position, 'I met a report from Major General Riall, that the 'enemy was advancing in great force. I immediate-'ly pushed on, and joined the head of Lieut. Colonel 'Morrison's column, just as it reached the road leading 'towards the Beaver Dam over the summit of the hill

'at Lundy's Lane. Instead of the whole of Major 'General Riall's division, which I expected to have 'found occupying this position, I found it almost in the 'occupation of the enemy, whose columns were within '600 yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding 'woods filled with his light troops. The advance of 'Major General Riall's division, consisting of the 'Glengary Light Infantry, and Incorporated Militia, 'having commenced their retreat upon Fort George, 'I countermanded these corps, and formed the 89th 'Regiment and the Royal Scots detachments, and '41st light companies, in the rear of the hill, their left 'resting on the great road; my two twenty-four pound-'er brass field guns a little advanced in front of the 'centre on the summit of the hill; the Glengary Light 'Infantry on the right, the battalion of Incorporated 'Militia, and the detachment of the King's Regiment 'on the left of the great road; the squadron, 19th Light 'Dragoons in the rear of the left, on the road. I had 'scarcely completed this formation, when the whole 'front was warmly and closely engaged. The ene-'my's principal efforts were directed against our left 'and centre. After repeated attacks, the troops on 'the left were partially forced back, and the enemy 'gained a momentary possession of the road. This 'gave him, however, no material advantage, as the 'troops which had been forced back formed in the rear 'of the 89th regiment, fronting the road, and securing 'the flank. It was during this short interval that 'Major General Riall, having received a severe wound, 'was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a 'party of the enemy's cavalry, and made prisoner. 'In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks

'of the enemy were met by the 89th Regiment, the 'detachment of the Royals and King's, and the light 'company of the 41st regiment, with the most perfect 'steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy was 'constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so de-'termined a manner were these attacks directed against 'our guns, that our artillery-men were bayoneted by 'the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of 'the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards 'of ours. The darkness of the night, during this ex-'traordinary conflict, occasioned several uncommon 'incidents: our troops having for a moment been push-'ed back, some of our guns remained for a few min-'utes in the enemy's hands; they were, however, not 'only quickly recovered, but the two pieces, a six 'pounder and a five and a half inch howitzer, which 'the enemy had brought up, were captured by us, to-'gether with several tumbrils; and in limbering up 'our guns at one period, one of the enemy's six poun-'ders was put, by mistake, upon a limber of our's, and 'one of our six pounders limbered on one of his; by 'which means the pieces were exchanged; and thus, 'though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he ob-'tained one of our's, we have gained only one gun.

'About nine o'clock (the action having commenc-'ed at six) there was a short intermission of firing, 'during which it appears the enemy was employed 'in bringing up the whole of his remaining force, and 'he shortly afterwards renewed his attack with fresh 'troops, but was every where repulsed with equal gal-'lantry and success. About this period the remainder 'of Major General Riall's division, which had been

'ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy, consisting of the 103d Regiment, under Colonel Scott: the head-quarter division of the Royal Scots; the head-quarter division of the 8th (or King's:) flank companies 104th; some detachments of militia, under Lieut. Colonel Hamilton, Inspecting Field-Officer, joined the troops engaged; and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots, and flank companies 104th, with which I prolonged my front line on the right, where I was apprehensive of the enemy's out-flanking me. The enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued until about midnight, when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and discipline of his Majesty's troops, that he gave up the contest, and retreated with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippawa. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greatest part of his baggage, camp-equipage, and provisions into the Rapids; and having set fire to Street's Mills and destroyed the bridge at Chippawa, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. My light troops, cavalry, and Indians, are detached in pursuit, and to harrass his retreat, which I doubt not he will continue until he reaches his own shore.

'The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action cannot be estimated at less than fifteen hundred men, including several hundreds of prisoners left in our hands; his two commanding Generals, Brown and Scott, are said to be wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged. Enclosed, I have the

'honour to transmit a return of our loss, which has 'been very considerable. The number of troops un- 'der my command, did not for the first three hours, ex- 'ceed sixteen hundred men; the addition of the troops 'under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than 'two thousand eight hundred of every description.'

In this action Major Gen. Riall having been severely wounded, was, while retiring, intercepted, and made prisoner by a party of the enemy's cavalry, who had obtained a momentary possession of the road on the left of the British line, by which the General was retiring.

General Drummond received a severe wound in his neck, from a musket ball. He however, concealed the circumstance from the troops, and remained on the ground, cheering on his men until the close of the action. Lieut. Colonel Morrison of the 89th Regiment, Lieut. Colonel Pearson, Capt. Robinson, of the King's Regiment, (commanding the militia) with several other officers of merit were severely wounded. The bravery of the Militia on this occasion, could not have been excelled by the most resolute Veterans. General Drummond, and other Officers of rank, have been known to express their astonishment and admiration, at the determined resistance which they for some time maintained, against the overwhelming force of the enemy. Nothing could have been more awful and impressive than this mid-night contest. The desperate charges of the enemy were succeeded by a dead silence, interrupted only by the groans of the dying, and the dull sounds of the stupendous Falls of Niagara, while the

adverse lines were now and then dimly discerned through the moonlight, by the dismal gleam of their arms. These anxious pauses were succeeded by a blaze of musketry along the lines and by a repetition of the most desperate charges from the enemy, which the British received with the most unshaken firmness. The American loss, by their own statement, amounted to one hundred and sixty rank and file killed, including twelve officers; and five hundred and seventeen wounded, including fifty officers, and among them Generals Brown and Scott. The command of the American forces in the absence of Generals Brown and Scott, who retired for the recovery of their wounds, devolved upon General Ripley: the enemy retreated on the 27th, with his whole force to Fort Erie, and threw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of that Fort to secure himself against the British, who immediately invested their works: General Gaines, in the mean time, proceeded from Sacket's Harbour, and assumed the command at Fort Erie.

On the 1st of August the American fleet sailed from Sacket's Harbour, and after looking into Kingston, sailed for the head of the Lake; from whence he soon returned to port, upon finding the army far from being in a state to co-operate, cooped up at Erie, and incapable of holding any direct communication with the naval force on Lake Ontario.

Assault upon Fort Erie.

The successful result of an enterprise by Captain Dobbs, of the Royal Navy, in capturing in the night of the 12th of August, with his gig and some batteaux, (conveyed over land from the

Niagara river,) two of the enemy's schooners, the Ohio and Somers, lying close to Fort Erie, for the purpose of flanking the approaches to the Fort, each mounting three long twelves, with complements of thirty-five men, gave spirit to the army. General Drummond, after having reconnoitred the enemy's position, determined to storm the American entrenchments. He accordingly opened a battery on the morning of the thirteenth, and on the ensuing day, finding that a material effect had been produced upon their works, he made the necessary preparations for an assault. Three columns were in the night of the fourteenth put in movement: one under the command of Lieut. Colonel Fischer of De Watteville's Regiment, consisting of the 8th and De Watteville's Regiments, the flank companies of the 89th and 100th Regiments, with a detachment of artillery. Another under Lieut. Colonel Drummond, of the 104th Regiment, consisting of the flank companies of the 41st and 104th Regiments, and a body of seamen and marines, under capt. Dobb's, (R. N.) and the third under Colonel Scott of the 103d Regiment, consisting of his own Regiment, supported by two companies of the Royals. The first of these columns was ordered to attack and turn the left of the enemy's intrenchment on the side of Snake Hill, while the two other columns were to attack the Fort and the right of their intrenchments. Colonel Fischer's column had gained the point of attack two hours before day-light, and the head of the column had actually gained possession of the enemy's batteries, but the column of support in marching too near the Lake, entangled themselves between the rocks and the water, and were, by the repulse of the flank companies of

the King's Regiment, (which, for want of timely support were compelled to retire upon them,) thrown into utter confusion, and suffered most severely by the fire of the enemy. The two other columns advanced as soon as the firing upon Lieut. Colonel Fischer's column was heard, and at the same moment stormed the Fort and intrenchments on the right, and after a desperate resistance succeeded in making a lodgment in the Fort, through the embrasures of the Demi-Bastion. The enemy took to a stone building which they maintained with determination for upwards of an hour and a half, against the guns of the Demi-Bastion, which the British had turned against them, until some ammunition under the platform on which the guns were placed, taking fire (whether accidentally or by design, is not well understood) a most tremendous explosion ensued, by which, almost all the troops who had entered the Fort, were dreadfully mangled. An immediate panic was communicated among the troops who could neither be rallied by the surviving officers, nor be persuaded that the explosion was accidental. The enemy after having repulsed Lieut. Col. Fischer's column had ordered reinforcements from the left and centre of their lines, to the assistance of the Fort, who taking advantage of the darkness and confusion of the moment, pressed forward with a heavy and destructive fire, and compelled the assailants to retire from the works they had so gallantly carried.

In this assault the loss of the British was most severely felt. Colonels Scott and Drummond, fell, while storming the works, at the head of their respective columns. Four Officers and fifty-four men were returned

as killed, and twenty-four Officers and two hundred and eighty-five men wounded. The missing were reported at nine Officers and five hundred and thirty men, afterwards ascertained to have been principally killed. The American statement of their own loss, makes it eighty-four in killed, wounded and missing.

General Drummond was reinforced a day or two after this assault, by the arrival of the 6th and 82d Regiments, from Lower-Canada. This reinforcement was however no more than barely sufficient to supply the recent casualties, and General Drummond did not with the small force under his command, deem it expedient to hazard a second attempt to recover Fort Erie, but by continuing its investment he cut off all communication with the adjacent Country, and in compelling the enemy to draw his resources from his own country, rendered the occupation of that Post for the remainder of the campaign, of no service to the invaders.

Michillimakinac, contrary to the expectation of the enemy had, early in the Spring, been reinforced with a detachment of troops and seamen, under Lieut. Col. M'Douall. This Officer proceeded by way of the Nottawasaga River, and after having for several days struggled against the ice, and tempestuous weather, which at this season agitates Lake Huron, arrived at his destination on the 18th of May, with his open canoes loaded with Provisions and Stores for the relief of the garrison.

From Michillimakinac, Lieut. Col. M'Douall dis-

Capture of Prairie du Chien.

patched Lieut. Col. M'Kay of the Indian Department at the commencement of July, with a force of six hundred and fifty men (of which 120 were Michigan Fencibles, Canadian Volunteers and Officers of the Indian Department, the remainder, Indians) to reduce the Post of *Prairie du Chien* on the Mississippi. Lieut. Col. M'Kay arrived at that place on the 17th July. Here he found the enemy in occupation of a small Fort situated on a height, with two Block-Houses mounting six pieces of cannon, and in the middle of the Mississippi immediately in front of the Fort, a large gun-boat, mounting fourteen pieces of small artillery. Lieut. Col. M'Kay sent a flag of truce, demanding an immediate surrender.—This being refused, he opened a fire from one gun upon the enemy's gun-boat with such effect after an action of three hours, as to compel her to cut her cable and run down the stream, where she took shelter under an Island. In the evening of the 19th, Lieut. Colonel M'Kay having thrown up his breast works at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards, was prepared to open a cannonade upon the enemy, with a single gun which he had mounted for the purpose, when the enemy hoisted a white flag and sent an Officer to acquaint the besiegers of their surrender, who immediately took possession of the garrison. The enemy's force consisted of three Officers and 71 men. The reduction of this Post which was effected without the loss of a single man, was of the utmost importance to the British Traders and effectually secured the British influence over the Indian tribes of the West.

The enemy upon ascertaining that Michillimakinac

had been reinforced, fitted out an Expedition which was put under the command of Lieut. Col. Croghan—

Expedition against Michillimackinac by the Americans.

A detachment of this force under the command of Major Holmes proceeded to Saint Marie's, where, after plundering the whole of the stores belonging to the North West Company, he wantonly ordered the buildings to be reduced to ashes. The main body after it had been joined by this detachment consisted of about nine hundred men. This force effected a landing near the Fort of Michillimakinac on the 4th of August in the forenoon, but the spirited opposition which it experienced from the handful of men under Lieut. Colonel M'Douall was such as to compel them to re-embark, leaving seventeen men dead on the shore, among them Major Holmes.

Though the enemy had failed in this attempt to carry Michillimackinac, they kept their small cruisers in the neighbourhood so as to intercept all supplies destined for the garrison. Two of these vessels, the Tigress and Scorpion, were carried (the former on the evening of the 3d, and the latter, on the morning of the 5th of September) by a small party of Seamen under Lieut. Worsley, (R. N.) and a party of Soldiers under Lieut. Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. They carried each a long 24 pounder on a Pivot, with complements of thirty-two men. After their capture, Michillimakinac was left unmolested.

During these events in Upper Canada, Lieut. General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, then Lieut. Governor in Nova-Scotia, was successfully engaged in reducing

a very populous and extensive portion of the enemy's territories adjacent to the Province of New-Brunswick. He detached a small force from Halifax, under Lieut. Colonel Pilkington which, with the Ramilies, commanded by Sir Thomas Hardy, took possession, on the 11th July, of Moose Island in Passamaquoddy Bay: the garrison at Fort Sullivan consisting of six Officers and eighty men under the command of Major Putnam surrendering themselves prisoners of war.—

Operations by Sir John C. Sherbrooke.

On the 26th of August, Sir John C. Sherbrooke having embarked at Halifax, the whole of his disposeable forces on board of ten transports, set sail accompanied by a small squadron, under Rear Admiral Griffiths, for Castine on the Penobscot River, where he arrived on the 1st September, and took possession of the Batteries at that place; the enemy finding it impossible to retain the post, having previously blown up the Magazine, and retreated with the field pieces. The United States' Frigate Adams, had some days previous to the arrival of the British at Castine, run into the Penobscot, and for security had gone up as far as Hamden, where her guns had been landed and a position taken, with a view of protecting her. Captain Barrie of the Dragon, with a suitable naval force, and 600 picked men, under the command of Colonel John of the 60th Regiment, were detached up the River for the purpose of obtaining possession or destroying the Adams. The enemy, who at first offered a spirited resistance, after setting fire to the Frigate, fled in all directions, upon finding the British resolutely advancing against their positions. Several pieces of ordnance and three stands of colours fell into the hands of the British, whose loss amounted

to no more than one man killed, and one officer and seven men wounded.

After the capture of Castine, Lieut. Colonel Pilkington was despatched with a brigade of troops for Machias, which was taken possession of on the 11th Sept. by that officer; the detachment in Fort O'Brien having on the approach of the British, precipitately retreated from the Fort, leaving twenty-six pieces of ordnance with a quantity of small arms and ammunition. Lieut. Col. Pilkington was on the point of marching into the interior of the country when he received a communication from Lieut. General Brewer, commanding the District, engaging that the militia forces within the county of Washington should not bear arms or serve against His Britannic Majesty during the war. This, with a similar offer made by the Civil Officers and principal inhabitants of the county, brought on a cessation of arms. By these judicious measures a populous extent of territory, stretching one hundred miles along the sea coast, including a valuable tract of country, partly separating New-Brunswick from Lower-Canada, passed under the dominion of the British arms without effusion of blood or the least waste of treasure.

Among the casualties in advance along the Lines on the Montreal frontier in the course of the present Summer, the death of captain Mailloux deserves to be remembered. This brave Canadian had been remarkably vigilant, and was of essential service in watching the movements of the enemy. He fell while on a reconnoitring party, into the hands of the enemy, who

had laid in ambush for him—He received several balls through the body, of which he languished some days, receiving however the greatest attention from the American Surgeons, as well as from those of the British, who were allowed by the enemy to cross the lines to attend him. The body, after his decease, was sent to the lines escorted by a party of the American Military with the honors of war, and every mark of respect for the memory of the deceased.

The arrival of a strong reinforcement of near sixteen thousand men from the Garonne, of the Duke of Wellington's army in July and August, determined Sir George Prevost to invade the state of New-York by way of Lake Champlain. The flotilla at *Isle-aux-Noix* was necessary to co-operate with the land forces, and the Commissary General and Quarter-Master General, in order to expedite the new Frigate (the Confiance) were directed to suspend every other branch of the public Service which interfered with its equipment. Sir James L. Yeo was urged by the Commander of the Forces, (early in August) to put this division of his command into an effective state, for the contemplated Service. In answer to this, he was acquainted by the Commodore, that the squadron on Lake Champlain was already ninety men over complete, and immediately superceded Captain Fisher, who with much exertion had almost prepared the flotilla for active service, appointing Captain Downie from the Lake Ontario squadron in his stead. The Commander of the Forces, disappointed in not receiving a reinforcement of Seamen from Lake Ontario, applied to Admiral Otway and Captain Lord James O'Brien then at Quebec,

who furnished a strong reinforcement from their respective Ships (the Ajax and Warspite) for the service of the Flotilla.

Sir George Prevost having sent to Upper-Canada, a brigade of troops under Major-General Kempt, who was authorized to make a descent upon Sacket's Harbour before the close of the Season, if such a measure should be thought practicable, concentrated his army between Laprairie and fort Chambly, under the immediate command of Major General De Rottenburgh. Altho' the flotilla was scarcely ready to co-operate, finding that a strong division of the enemy's forces under General Izard, had marched from Plattsburgh to reinforce the troops at Fort Erie, he, in order to check the advance of this division, put his army in movement and crossed the lines at Odeltown, on the first of September. On the third, he advanced and occupied Champlain Town, which the enemy abandoned upon his approach.

From this point the whole British force marched on the 4th in two columns, by parallel roads upon Plattsburgh through a woody country. The column advancing by the western road, (more elevated and on drier ground than the road next the lake, which was low and swampy,) commanded by Major Generals Power and Robinson, was smartly opposed by the enemy's militia. It however, drove the enemy back upon Plattsburgh on the sixth, and opened the way for the left brigade, commanded by Major General Brisbane by Dead Creek, a strong position upon the border of Lake Champlain, which the enemy had oc-

cupied in force, after destroying a bridge over the stream, which in this place was not fordable, having so distributed their gun-boats, (ten in number, six of which carried each one long twenty-four, and an eighteen pounder carronade, the others a long twelve each,) as to take the British in flank on their approach. The American squadron, consisting of the Saratoga of 26 guns, Brig Eagle, 20 guns, Schooner Ticonderoga, 17 guns, and the Cutter Preble of 7 guns, lay anchored in the Bay, then within reach of the protection of three batteries and redoubts, on a ridge of land on the south of the Saranac River. This position being turned, the enemy fell back upon their redoubts beyond the Saranac, keeping a vigilant outlook upon the Fords of the river with strong piequets of light troops. On the seventh the heavy artillery being brought forward, eligible situations were chosen to place them in battery, when it was observed that the squadron had changed their position from that of the preceding day, and were anchored out of reach of their own, as well as of the British batteries. The commander of the forces had previously acquainted Captain Downie, (who was moving gradually up the Lake, with his flotilla, himself in the Confiance rather unprepared for action, with a crew entirely strangers to her officers) of the position of the American squadron; and that the attack by land and water might be stimultaneous, he deferred an attack upon their works until the arrival of the squadron. This resolution (it is said) was adopted with the unanimous concurrence of the General Officers present. The escape of the enemy's fleet to the narrow channels at the head of the Lake might render it impracticable to engage them with any prospect of

success: a final decision of the naval ascendency, on the Lake at the present juncture, was therefore of the utmost importance to the ulterior operations of the army, and the expediency of such a measure was universally acknowledged, particularly as the strongest confidence prevailed in the superiorty of the British vessels, their weight of metal, and in the capacity and experience of their officers and crews; and as the Commander of the Forces was informed by an officer of his Staff, who had been dispatched to Captain Downie, that he (capt. D.) considered himself, with his own vessel alone (the Confiance,) a match for the whole American squadron. At midnight on the 9th of September, Sir George Prevost received a communication from Captain Downie, stating that he was prepared for service, and proposed getting under weigh with his squadron the same night at twelve o'clock, with the intention of doubling Cumberland Head (at the entrance of Plattsburgh Bay,) about day break and engaging the enemy's squadron if anchored in a position to jutisfy such a measure. The troops at dawn of day were under arms, but there being no appearance of the fleet at the expected hour, they were sent into quarters. Sir George wrote a note to Captain Downie, acquainting him that the army had been held in readiness that morning for the expected arrival, and expressing his hopes that the wind only had delayed the approach of the squadron. The brave Downie, who to the noble and manly virtues characteristic of his profession, united the nicest sense of honor, is said to have been fired with indignation at the reflection conveyed in the note. No communication subsequent to that of the 9th was, however, received from him at Head Quarters.

At the dawn of day on the 11th, the wind being observed to be favorable for the advance of the squadron, the troops were put under arms, and at seven o'clock its approach was announced by the scaling of the guns of the Confiance, which rounded Cumberland Head, with a leading breeze, leaving the other vessels and gunboats far in her wake. As 8 o'clock the whole fire of the enemy's squadron, moored in line, was directed upon the Confiance, which moved gallantly into action without returning a shot, (Captain Downie intending to lay his ship athwart hause of the enemy's largest ship) until within two cable lengths of the American line, when, having two anchors shot away, and the wind baffling, she came to anchor, and opened a destructive fire upon the enemy. The Linnet and Chub, some time after, took their stations at a short distance, but the Chub having had her cables, bowsprit, and main boom shot away, became unmanageable, and drifting within the enemy's line was obliged to surrender. Shortly after the commencement of the fire from the Confiance, her gallant commander fell, and the command of the squadron devolved upon Captain Pring of the Linnet. The Confiance, after the fall of Capt. Downie fought for some time most gallantly under the command of Lieut. Robertson, but was compelled to strike her colours to the enemy's ship, the Saratoga, which at one moment had slackened her fire, several of her guns being dismounted; she however, cut her cable, winded her larboard broadside so as to bear on the Confiance, which, being much shattered in her hull and injured in her rigging, endeavoured in vain to effect the same manuœvre. The Finch struck on a reef of rocks to the eastward of Crab Island early in the

action, and was of no service in the engagement. The Linnet only remained; but Captain Pring, finding that the gun-boats had shamefully abandoned the object assigned to them, and were flying from the scene of action, while not a hope remained of retrieving the disaster of the day, his men falling fast, was reluctantly compelled to give the painful orders to strike the colours. The fire on both sides proved very destructive from the light airs and the smoothness of the water; the British loss in killed and wounded was 129, of which 3 Officers and 68 men were killed and one officer and 39 men wounded on board of the Confiance.

The batteries on shore were put into operation against the enemy's line of fortifications, as soon as the enemy's ships commenced firing. As the approach to the front of their works was rough and exposed to a fire of grape and musketry, as well as to a flank fire from a Block-House, a column of assault, under Major-General Robinson, was ordered to move by the rear of their bivouacs, the better to conceal their movements and cross a ford previously reconnoitred some distance up the Saranac; thence to penetrate through a wood to a clear space of ground in the vicinity of the enemy's position, where the necessary preparations might be made to carry their works by assault on their reverse front.

The second brigade under Major-General Brisbane, was so distributed as to create a diversion in favor of the column under Major General Robinson, which, through the mistake of the guides, had been led up-

on a wrong path and missed the ford. Before
ror was rectified by a countermarch, shouts of
was distinctly heard by this column in the direc
the American works. To have carried these fo
tions would have been no difficult task for the
troops composing this column, but their attai
after the loss of the squadron, could not have b
tended with any permanent advantage. Orde
therefore sent to General Robinson (who upo
ing the shouts, had halted and sent to Head-Q
to ascertain the cause and to receive such furt
ders from the Commander of the Forces as we
cessary) to return with his column. The loss
squadron gave the enemy the means of con
their troops to such points as might be deemed
dient, and the numerous reinforcements which m
ly crouded in, gave them a great disposeable
whose superiority in numbers was such, that a d
a few hours might have placed the British in
cal situation. So circumstanced, the army, ind
at being obliged to retire before an enemy thei
rior in discipline and renown, fell back upon
in the evening, with little molestation from the
cans. On the ensuing day they continued th
treat towards the lines, bringing away such of t
nance and commissariat stores as had not been i
by the rain, which, from the commencement of
vasion, and during the retreat of the army, ha
almost incessant.

Thus terminated the luckless and humiliating
dition to Plattsburgh, with the loss of the squ
(the gun-boats, owing to the misconduct of the off

command, excepted,*) and five hundred men of the land forces in killed wounded and missing.

The unfortunate result of this expedition irritated the army, which felt itself humiliated in being compelled to retire before an enemy which they had been taught to disdain. The Naval commander in the Canadas, in his official letter to the Admiralty, did not scruple to attribute the loss of the lake squadron to the misconduct of the Commander of the Forces. The opinion of that officer, remote from the place of action, and of which he had no local knowledge, must necessarily have relied upon the statements of others; and when we consider the variance in the relation of facts, as given by those immediately concerned, an impartial person will pause in forming an opinion. In justification of the conduct of Captain Downie, it has been said that he was hurried into action before his ship was in a state to meet the enemy, and that the Commander of the Forces failed to give the promised co-operation to the fleet, by not commencing an assault on the batteries, upon a signal given by the *Confiance*, in consequence of which the whole attention of the enemy was directed against the fleet. That if the land batteries had been assaulted in time, the American fleet would have been compelled to leave the bay, when they might have been attacked by the British squadron on the open lake to much better advantage. On the other hand it has been urged that capt. Downie, so far from being hurried into action, entertained the fullest

*. This Gentleman soon after his disgraceful flight from the naval action at Plattsburgh, disappeared, while under arrest, preparatory to his trial by a Naval Court Martial.

confidence in the superiority of his squadron, and that he felt equally certain of success whether he should meet the enemy on the open Lake, or attack them at anchor in Plattsburgh bay. That there was no signal agreed upon between the Commander of the land forces and Captain Downie; and that the circumstance of his scaling the guns was considered by the former as no more than the usual precaution before the commencement of a naval action. That the storming of the works on shore could not have been of any service to the British squadron, as the American ships during the action, were moored out of range of the land batteries. That it would have been imprudent to have carried the American batteries before the naval ascendency should have been decided, as the enemy's squadron, after such an event, by retiring to the narrows in the Lake, before the British squadron should have been off Plattsburgh to intercept their retreat, might have secured themselves against every future effort to attack them to advantage. Amidst the contradictory relations of facts and diversity of opinions, which have been given from respectable authority, spectators of the event, it is difficult to say what were the grand errors which occasioned the failure of the expedition to Plattsburgh, or whether it may not be considered as one of those misfortunes incidental to warfare, which human prudence can neither foresee nor prevent. It is confidently asserted of Captain Downie, that he thought himself, with his single ship, the Confiance, a match for the whole American squadron, and when we advert to the circumstance of his having gone, as it were singly into action, while the other vessels, particularly the Gunboats, in his squadron, were far in his wake, there is

room to believe that this gallant officer fell a victim to a fallacious confidence of success, which, after consecrating his life to it, we cannot but respect.

The decease of Sir George Prevost, before a Military Court Martial could investigate the charges preferred against him, renders it impossible to speak with any degree of certainty on the general propriety of his conduct on that expedition: but it seems to be generally admitted, by those who are supposed most capable of forming a correct opinion on the subject, that after the loss of the squadron his situation in the enemy's country, must have been extremely precarious; and that, although he might without any great exertion have carried all the enemy's works at Plattsburgh, their momentary occupation, which would have cost him some blood, would have been utterly useless.

Sortie at Fort Erie.

The enemy at Fort Erie, on hearing the result of the expedition to Plattsburgh, and aware that the British in their neighbourhood had not been recently reinforced, made a sortie in the afternoon of the seventeenth of September, and attacked the British lines, extending through a thick wood, with their whole force, consisting of upwards of five thousand men. At the onset they gained some advantage, having from the thickness of the weather, (the rain pouring in torrents) succeeded in turning the right of the British line of picquets without being perceived, and after a warm contest, obtained possession of two batteries. As soon as the alarm was given, reinforcements were sent forward, who drove the enemy from the works of which they had gained possession, and pur-

sued them to the glacis of Fort Erie, whither they retired with precipitation, with the loss (by their own accounts) in killed, wounded and missing, of five hundred and nine men, including eleven officers killed and twenty-three wounded. The British loss amounted to three officers and one hundred and twelve men killed, seventeen officers and one hundred and sixty-one men wounded, and thirteen officers and three hundred and three men missing; making a total of 609 officers and men.

General Drummond, after this affair, finding his troops encamped in a low situation, now rendered very unhealthy by the late constant rains, growing sickly, raised the investment of Fort Erie, and fell back upon Chippawa, on the evening of the 21st of September, without molestation by the enemy.

Sir James L. Yeo, after much exertion, completed the Saint Lawrence, a new ship of 100 guns, and on the 16th October, sailed from Kingston for the head of the lake with a reinforcement of troops and supplies for the army; Commodore Chauncey having previously retired to Sacket's Harbour, on hearing that the British squadron was prepared for the lake. Gen. Brown finding the American squadron incapable of co-operating with him, came to the resolution of evacuating Fort Erie, which he accordingly did on the 5th November, after calling in his out-posts and destroying the whole works at that post, and retired across the Niagara to his own territory, leaving the wearied Inhabitants of the Upper Province once more to their repose.

The American army throughout the present campaign evinced a character and an improved state of discipline far beyond what might have been expected from such raw materials. The barbarous conduct of a few desperadoes who occasionally made incursions into the western parts of Upper Canada disgraced however the reputation which their regular army had acquired in the estimation of the British, ever ready to acknowledge merit in a virtuous enemy. The Villages of Dover, and Port Talbot were destroyed by these ruthless barbarians in the course of the summer: but the devastation which marked the course of a horde of mounted men from Kentucky, under Brigadier General M'Arthur, in the month of November, exceeded every thing. The Country through which they passed was given up to indiscriminate plunder: the settlements were reduced to ashes, and the miserable inhabitants were left to perish with cold and hunger. This band of ruffians was arrested in its progress, on attempting to cross the Grand River, by a party of the 103d Regiment and a few Indian Warriors, and their speedy retreat before a party of the 19th Light Dragoons saved them from exemplary chastisement. They made good their retreat to Detroit from whence they had set out on this excursion.

The troops and embodied militia in the Lower Province were sent into winter quarters on the tenth of December. General Drummond and Sir James L. Yeo, after the campaign had ended in Upper Canada, came down to Montreal to concert measures with the commander of the forces for the ensuing campaign, in the event that the negociations then carrying on at

Ghent should not terminate in a Peace. The creation of a naval force on Lake Huron in the ensuing season was determined upon by these officers, as a place affording much greater security for the construction of vessels than Lake Erie, where the enemy possessing the dominion of the Lake could at any time destroy them.

The House of Assembly met on the 21st January. Mr. Panet having been called up to the Legislative Council, Joseph L. Papineau, Esquire, was elected Speaker of the Assembly. The militia Act was revised and amended by admitting substitutes. A Grant of new Duties upon Tea, strong Spirits, and on Goods sold at Auction was made to His Majesty to supply the wants of the Province. One thousand pounds were granted for the encouragement of vaccine inoculation; upwards of eighty thousand pounds were appropriated for the improvement of the Internal Communications of the Province, and a further Sum of twenty-five thousand pounds for the purpose of opening a Canal from Montreal to Lachine. A Bill was also introduced to make a provision for the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and to grant him a thousand pounds per annum, to enable him to support the dignity of his Office. This Bill being reserved for the Royal Sanction was confirmed during a subsequent Administration.

The Assembly among other things came to a resolution that it was expedient to appoint an Agent in Great Britain for the purpose of soliciting the enactment of Laws, and for transacting such public matters as might from time to time be committed to his care for

the good of the Province. This resolution was communicated to the Legislative Council, where, in opposition to the measure, it was resolved, that the Governor of the Province was the only fit and constitutional channel between the Legislative Bodies of Lower Canada and His Majesty's Government in Great-Britain: they therefore did not concur in the Message of the Assembly.

The Lower House, upon receiving information of the dissent of the Legislative Council, persisted in their resolution, and presented an address to the Governor on the subject, requesting his Excellency to transmit to the Prince Regent certain addresses in their behalf, as well as an address relating to the Impeachments preferred at a former Session against the Chief Justices, and of which no notice had as yet been taken by the British Government. Whilst the attention of the colonial Legislature was engaged in these concerns, news of the Treaty of Peace was officially announced to them on the 1st of March.

The Embodied Militia were immediately disbanded, and as a gratuity, the Legislature granted eighty days pay to the officers. An annuity of six pounds was provided for such Voltigeurs and Militiamen as had been rendered, during their service, incapable of earning a livelihood. A small gratuity was also made to the widows and children of those who had been killed during the war; and the Assembly in an Address to the Prince Regent, recommended that a grant of lands should be made to such Voltigeurs and Militia, as had served in defence of the Province during the late war.

The Assembly, as a mark of respect for the character of the Governor in Chief, voted him the sum of five thousand pounds sterling for the purchase of a Service of Plate. This measure met with the approbation of the Prince Regent, but was not carried into effect; the Legislative Council having refused their assent to a bill for that purpose, which was sent up for their concurrence in the course of the ensuing Session.

The business of the Session being concluded, the Governor prorogued the Parliament on the 25th March. He informed the Assembly that he had received the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to return to England for the purpose of repelling accusations affecting his military character, which had been preferred by the late Naval Commander in Chief on the Lakes in Canada—an opportunity which he embraced with eagerness to justify his military reputation.

'However intent (said he) 'on the subject which so
'unexpectedly thus summons my attention, be assured
'I shall bear with me a lively recollection of the firm
'support I have derived from you, and I shall be gra-
'tified at an early period in representing personally to
'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the zeal and
'loyalty evinced by every class of His Majesty's Sub-
'jects in British North America during my Admin-
'tration, their attachment to his August Person and
'his Government, and most particularly the spirit and
'devotion manifested by the People of the Canadas,
'the late contest with the United States of America.

Sir George Prevost accordingly departed from Quebec on the third of April, for England by way of St. John's (New-Brunswick) over the wild and uninhabited country between the Saint Lawrence and the River St. John's. On the day of his departure he received farewell addresses from the citizens of Quebec and Montreal, expressive of their satisfaction with his Administration. He was succeeded by Sir Gordon Drummond in the Government of Lower-Canada, as Administrator in Chief, who arrived at Quebec on the same day, a few hours after the Governor's departure, and assumed the Command.

THE END.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is due to the public, and to the memory of Sir George Prevost, to give some statement of the proceedings, with respect to that officer, after his return to England, to account for his military conduct at Plattsburgh, in September 1814, at the instance of Sir James L. Yeo, commander of the Naval Forces on the Lakes in Canada. Some time after his arrival at home, he was induced, by the promulgation of the sentence of a Naval Court Martial, assembled for the trial of Capt. Pring and the officers under his command, for the loss of the British Squadron on Lake Champlain in Plattsburgh Bay, reflecting upon the conduct of the Commander of the Land Forces, to address a letter on the subject to His Royal Highness the Duke of York. In this letter he strongly protested against the decision of that Court Martial so far as it related to himself, as premature and unjust; *his* conduct, and that of the army under his command, not being properly the subject of *their* enquiry; and because their opinion must have principally relied upon the bare statement and assertions of the parties whose conduct was in question, without any other than *ex parte* testimony. He complained of the peculiar injustice of this prejudication of his conduct, aggravated by the delay of his accuser to bring forward his accusations; and solicited the interposition of His Royal Highness with His Majesty's Government, to compel him to produce his charges in legal form, and proceed upon them, in order that

an opportunity might be afforded him of vindicating his character and conduct.

A copy of the charges (four in number) given in by Sir James L. Yeo, in consequence of this remonstrance, was, by the Adjutant General of the Forces, transmitted from the Horse-Guards, on the 13th September, to Sir George Prevost; and to afford time for the arrival of the necessary witnesses from Canada, the meeting of the General Court Martial was posponed till the 12th of January 1816. In the mean time, the health of Sir George Prevost, naturally of a delicate cast, and impaired in the course of service, became seriously affected from anxiety of mind, and the fatigue he had experienced in his journey on foot over the uninhabited country, covered with snow, between the Rivers Saint Lawrence and Saint John's; and on the 5th of January, he died in London, leaving a disconsolate family to regret his loss, rendered doubly grievous by the reflections to which his memory was exposed, from his not having had an occasion of clearing up his conduct at Plattsburgh.

Colonel William Augustus Prevost, anxious for an opportunity to retrieve the injured reputation of his brother, from the obloquy which the want of an investigation of the charges preferred against Sir George Prevost, previous to his decease, must have cast upon his memory, in a letter addressed to His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, after stating in the strongest light, the distressing situation in which the family and relations of the deceased were placed, requested that an investigation of his conduct might be

ordered before a Court of Enquiry. A reference to the Judge Advocate was made on the subject, who was of opinion, that such an enquiry, could not be properly made; and indeed the objections to an investigation after the death of a party, in such an instance as the present, appear to be insurmountable; the evidence before a Court of Enquiry, not being taken on oath, nor could any proceedings with a view to afford public satisfaction, have had the desired effect, unless the Prosecutors (whose characters must also have been considered to a certain degree at stake) were allowed to come forward with the whole weight of their evidence.

In consequence of this determination, Lady Prevost addressed a letter to the Commander in Chief, representing to His Royal Highness in the most forcible terms, the painful dilemma in which she was placed.—She dwelt strongly upon the injustice sustained by the memory of an injured officer, whose life had been devoted to the service of his country, and whose exertions in that service had been honoured with the frequent and unqualified approbation of his Sovereign and his Country.—Honors, which, though the fruit of long and acknowledged services, were now in danger of being blasted by unproven and calumnious accusations. She therefore solicited His Royal Highness to extend his favour and protection to herself and family, and implored him to commiserate their multiplied afflictions, and to endeavour to obtain from His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, a gracious consideration of their claims for such marks of distinction as might be thought due to the memory of the deceased. His Royal Highness acknowledged the receipt of her Ladyship's let-

ter and assured her that he should be glad to do any thing calculated to alleviate her distress, but declined interfering with the Prince Regent on the subject, before whom, he was of opinion, it could only be regularly submitted by His Majesty's Ministers.

Lady Prevost accordingly drew up a memorial, which, with a statement of the military occurrences at Plattsburgh, she submitted to the Prince Regent through the Ministers. His Royal Highness having taken the same into consideration, was soon afterwards graciously pleased, publicly to express the high sense he entertained of the distinguished services of Sir George Prevost, conferring at the same time, as a mark of his approbation, additional armorial bearings to the Arms of his Family.

The administration of the Civil Government of Lower-Canada under Sir George Prevost, was mild, equitable, and unquestionably popular among the entire mass of the Canadian population, in whose loyalty from the commencement, he placed the most implicit confidence. To their fidelity, and to the prudent and conciliating policy of this Governor, Great-Britain is indebted for the preservation of the Canadas, unavoidably left destitute of money and troops at the outset of hostilities with America, by reason of the urgent demands of the war in Spain.

The Provincial Legislature, by giving a currency to Army Bills, and guaranteeing their redemption, effectually removed all apprehensions of a deficiency in the financial resources of the Colonial Government. The organization of a respectable force of Embodied Militia, and the power delegated to the Governor, of

turning out the whole of the effective male population of the Province, in cases of emergency, enabled him to withstand the efforts of the United States, during two successive campaigns with scarcely any other resources than those derived from the colony. They who had been partial to the preceding administration, and who probably may have been instrumental in the arbitrary measures with which it is reproached, were, as might be expected, adverse to the policy of the present Governor, and spared no pains to represent in England the affairs of the colony in the falsest colours. The disappointments experienced at Sacket's Harbour and Plattsburgh, gave occasion to his enemies to discredit his military character : but whatever may have been his capacity as a general, (which we leave to the judgment of military men) it must be admitted that as a Civil Governor, at the head of a people irritated by arbitrary measures under the preceding administration, he judiciously explored his way through a period of unprecedented embarrassments and danger, without a recurrence to Martial Law, or the least exertion of arbitrary power. His manners are represented by those who were familiarly acquainted with him as unassuming and social. His public speeches or addresses partook of even classical elegance. His smooth and easy temper placed him beyond the ordinary passions of men in power, and though aware of the intrigues of unprincipled and implacable enemies labouring at his destruction, and loaded with the obliquy of the press, he is known to have harboured no resentment against the former, and to have reasoned with that coolness and unconcern with respect to the latter, which can only spring from a virtuous and ingenuous mind.

APPENDIX.

A.

Of this production we insert the following extract: the remainder of it, being directed against individuals, is suppressed:

A TOUS LES ELECTEURS DU BAS-CANADA.

Mes Compatriotes,

LES efforts que vous avez faits à la dernière Election n'ont pas été inutiles.

La Chambre d'Assemblée a eu plus de force qu'elle n'en avoit jamais eu. Le payement de la LISTE CIVILE y a été proposé avec succès. Mais l'effet en a été terrible; car le Parlement a été cassé, et vous allez voir des efforts incroyables à la prochaine Election pour faire abandonner les Représentans en qui vous aviez confiance. Tout va être mis en œuvre; toutes les Gazettes jusqu'à celle de Québec, sont employées; et on a encore mis une nouvelle sur pied en François. Tous les gens en places et tous ceux qui veulent en avoir sont en mouvement. Le coup a été terrible pour eux, ils l'ont senti jusque dans la moële des os: mais quelque chose qu'il fassent, quelque chose que vous voyez, tenez ferme, et soutenez vos Représentans.

On croit le moment favorable. On espère vous épouvanter par la Liste Civile, et que la promptitute avec laquelle vont se faire les Elections, ne vous laissera pas le tems de la réflexion.

Vous n'avez pas de tems à perdre, allez vous informer au plus vîte à ceux en qui vous avez confiance, et faites vous expliquer l'affaire.

On va vous prêcher le ménagement de votre bourse, on va crier aux taxes. Remarquez bien qui sont ceux qui prêchent et qui

crient ainsi : si ce sont ceux qui ont coutume de parler de ménagement et de crier contre les taxes.

Ces personnes ne se sont pas récriées de voir augmenter les Dépenses Civiles tous les ans ; elles ne se sont pas récriées lorsqu'on a proposé de mettre des taxes sur les terres, il y a quelques années. Elles se sont toujours gardées jusqu'ici de vous parler de ces choses ; elles jettoient les hauts cris ces dernières années, lorsqu'on publia un compte pour vous donner connoissance des Dépenses de la Province.

Croyez que ce n'est pas le désir de ménager votre bourse qui les agite si fort, mais que c'est bien plutôt le désir d'en avoir le ménagement eux-mêmes, et d'être les maîtres d'augmenter la dépense tant qu'ils voudront.

En mil sept cent quatre-vingt quinze la première fois que les comptes ont été envoyés à la Chambre, la Dépense de la Province ne montoit qu'à dix neuf mille louis ; en mil huit cent, elle montoit à trente-deux mille louis ; et en mil huit cent sept, qui est la dernière année dont on ait les comptes publiés, elle montoit à quarante-trois mille louis.

Ils vous diront : que vous importe que la dépense augmente, ce n'est pas vous qui la payez toute.

Il est vrai qu'il y a une petite partie que nous ne payons pas, et qu'on se garde bien de nous faire payer, afin de pouvoir dire que nous n'avons pas le droit de se mêler de la dépense.

Mais quand la dépense sera une fois augmentée autant qu'il aura plû aux gens en place, il faudra que quelqu'un soit chargé de la payer. Qu'est-ce qui doit en être chargé à la fin ?—La mère-patrie n'a point établi de fond pour la payer ; on tire ce qu'elle en paye actuellement, de la caisse militaire ; cela ne pourra continuer tant qu'il ne s'agira que de Bagatelles ; mais quand les sommes seront devenues considérables, on nous dira : Il est raisonnable qu'une Province florissante comme celle-ci, paye ses propre dépenses ; la mère-patrie est assez chargée des frais des guerres qu'elle a eu à soutenir pour la protection de l'empire ; et cela sera raisonnable.

Il sera tems alors, disent les gens en places, de régler la dépense et on aura le même droit qu'à présent.—Mais quand la dépense sera trois ou quatre fois plus grande; il y aura trois ou quatre fois autant de gens en places, qui auront trois ou quatre fois autant d'influence et de puissance, et qui crieront trois ou quatre fois autant; et si actuellement on a déjà tant de peine à s'en défendre, comment pourra-t-on le faire alors? Faut-il attendre qu'ils se soient entièrement emparé de la place, et qu'il soit impossible de résister?

Ils vont vous exagérer les sommes qu'il faudroit payer, afin de vous épouvanter; les uns disent, il faut augmenter de VINGT-CINQ MILLE LOUIS, d'autre de QUARANTE MILLE; on disoit avant hier au Greffe que c'étoit *vingt-cinq mille*, aujourd'hui on dit que c'est *quarante mille*. S'il falloit se régler sur leur appetit, la somme seroit effectivement considérable; mais ce n'est pas là-dessus que la Chambre d'Assemblée se reglera, à moins que le nombre des gens à places qui y seront, ne l'emporte.

La somme à payer suivant les derniers comptes qui ont été publiés, seroit de SEIZE MILLE louis. De ces seize mille louis, onze mille seroient payés par l'acte des prisons en le continuant, et il ne resteroit plus que cinq milles louis—une couple de chelins sur le vin de Madère et le vin de Porte et quelques sols sur le sucre blanc produiroient huit mille louis, ce qui seroit une somme plus que suffisante, &c. &c. &c.

B.

Governor CRAIG's *PROCLAMATION.*

Whereas divers wicked, seditious and treasonable writings have been printed, published and dispersed in this Province, with the care and government of which I am entrusted; and whereas such writings have been expressly calculated to mislead His Majesty's good Subjects, to impress their minds with distrust and jealousy of his Majesty's Government, to alienate their affections from His Majesty's Person, and to bring into

contempt and vilify the Administration of Justice, and of the Government of the Country; and whereas, in the prosecution of these wicked and traitorous purposes, their authors and abettors have not scrupled audaciously to advance the most gross and daring falsehoods, whilst the industry that has been employed, in dispersing and disseminating them at a very great expense, but the scource of which is not known, strongly evinces the perseverance and implacability with which it is intended that these purposes should be pursued; and whereas, consistently with that duty, which I owe to his Majesty, and that affection and regard with which I view the welfare and prosperity of the Inhabitants of this Colony, it was impossible for me any longer to disregard or suffer practices so directly tending to subvert the Government of the former, and to destroy the happiness of the latter, I do therefore, hereby announce, with the advice and concurrence of His Majesty's Executive Council, that with the same advice and concurrence measures have been adopted, and that due information having been given to Three of His Majesty's said Executive Counsellors, Warrants as by Law authorised, have been issued under which some of the authors, printers and publishers of the writings aforesaid have been apprehended and secured.

Deeply impressed with a desire to promote, in all respects, the welfare and happiness of the most benevolent and best of Sovereigns, whose faithful servant I have been for nearly as long a period as the oldest inhabitant has been his subject, and whose highest displeasure I should incur, if I made any other than that happiness and welfare the rule of my conduct, it

would indeed be with a very sincere concern, that I should find reason to believe that the arts of these factious and designing men had produced any effect, and that doubts and jealousies should have found their way, and have established themselves in the minds of deluded Persons.

To these, if any such there be, and indeed to the public in general, I would recall the history of the whole period during which they have been under His Majesty's Government. Let them remember the state they were in when they became British Subjects; and let them bear in their recollection the progressive advances they have made to the wealth, happiness, security and unbounded liberty which they now enjoy.—During fifty years that they have been under the English dominion, has one act of oppression—has one instance of arbitrary imprisonment—or of violation of property, occurred? Have you in any one instance, or under any one circumstance, been disturbed in the free and uncontroulled enjoyment of your Religion—and lastly, while all Europe has been deluged in blood, and while various of his Majesty's other colonies and possessions have at times experienced the horrors of war, and some even under the vicissitudes of that state, have undergone a deprivation of the inestimable happiness of living under British Laws and British Government, by becoming a prey to temporary conquest, have you not enjoyed the most perfect security and tranquility under the powerful protection of that same government, whose fostering and paternal care has been equally employed in promoting your internal welfare.

What then can be the means used by these evil disposed and wicked persons by which they can hope to bring about their traitorous and ambitious designs—by what arguments can they expect that a people, in the enjoyment of every blessing that can contribute to happiness in this world, shall renounce that happiness, to embrace their views? By what argument can they expect that a brave and loyal people, hitherto impressed with the warmest and sincerest attachment to the best of Kings, whose whole reign has been one series of benefits bestowed on them, shall abandon that loyalty and become monsters of ingratitude, fit to be held up to the detestation of the world, to promote their projects? It is true, the most base and diabolical falsehoods are industriously promulgated and disseminated. In one part, it is announced as my intention to embody and make soldiers of you, and that having applied to the late House of Representatives to enable me to assemble twelve thousand of you for that purpose, and they having declined to do so, I had therefore dissolved them. This is not only directly false, such an idea never having entered into my mind, nor the slightest mention having ever been made of it; but it is doubly wicked and atrocious, because it has been advanced by persons, who must have been supposed to speak with certainty on the subject, and was therefore the more calculated to impose upon you. In another part you are told that I wanted to tax your lands, and that the late House of Assembly would consent only to tax wine, and upon that account, I had dissolved the House. Inhabitants of St. Denis! this is also directly false; I never had the most distant idea of taxing you at all; such had never even been for a

moment the subject of my deliberations, and when the late House offered to pay the Civil List, I could not have taken any step in a matter of such importance without the King's instructions, and therefore it was still long before we came to the consideration of how it was to be paid. In truth not one word was ever to my knowledge mentioned on the subject.

In other parts, despairing of producing instances from what I have done, recourse is had to what I intend to do, and it is boldly told you, that I mean to oppress you. Base and daring fabricators of falsehood, on what part or what act of my life, do you found such an assertion? What do you know of me or of my intentions? Canadians, ask of those to whom you formerly looked with attention and respect, ask the heads of your church who have opportunities of knowing me; these are men of honor and knowledge, these are men from whom you ought to seek for information and advice; the leaders of faction, the demagogues of a party, associate not with me; they cannot know me.

For what purpose should I oppress you? Is it to serve the King? Will that Monarch, who during fifty years has never issued one order that had you for its object, that was not for your benefit and happiness—will he now, beloved, honored, adored by his subjects, covered with glory, descending into the vale of years, accompanied with the prayers and blessings of a grateful people, will he, contrary to the tenor of a whole life of honor and virtue, now give orders to his Servants to oppress his Canadians Subjects? It is impossible that you can for a moment believe it. You will spurn from

you with just indignation, the miscreant who will suggest such a thought to you.

Is it for myself, then, that I should oppress you? For what should I oppress you? Is it from ambition? What can you give me? Is it for power? Alas! my good friends! with a life ebbing not slowly to its period, under the pressure of disease acquired in the service of my country, I look only to pass, what it may please God to suffer to remain of it, in the comfort of retirement among my friends. I remain among you only in obedience to the commands of my King. What power can I wish for? Is it then for wealth that I would oppress you? Enquire of those who know me, whether I regard wealth: I never did, when I could enjoy it: it is now of no use to me; to the value of your Country laid at my feet, I would prefer the consciousness of having, in a single instance, contributed to your happiness and prosperity.

These personal allusions to myself—These details, in any other case, might be unbecoming, and beneath me; but nothing can be unbecoming or beneath me, that can tend to save you from the gulf of Crime and Calamity, into which guilty men would plunge you.

It is now my duty more particularly to advert to the intent and purpose for which this Proclamation is issued; I do, therefore, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Executive Council, hereby warn, and earnestly exhort all his Majesty's Subjects, to be on their guard against, and to be cautious how they listen to the artful suggestions of designing and wicked men,

who, by the spreading of false reports, and by seditious and traitorous writings, ascribe to His Majesty's Government evil and malevolent purposes, seeking only thereby to alienate their affections, and lead them into acts of Treason and Rebellion, calling upon all well disposed Persons, and particularly upon all Curates and Ministers of God's Holy Religion, to use their best endeavors to prevent the evil effects of such incendiary and traitorous designs, to undeceive, to set right, such as may have been misled by them, and to inculcate in all, the true principles of loyalty to the King and obedience to the Laws.

And I do hereby further strictly charge and command all Magistrates, in and throughout this Province, all Captains of Militia, Peace Officers and others, His Majesty's good Subjects, that they do severally make diligent enquiry and search, to discover as well the authors as the publishers of all such wicked, seditious and traitorous writings as aforesaid, and of false news in any way derogatory to his Majesty's Government, or in any manner tending to inflame the Public Mind, and to disturb the public peace and tranquility; to the end, that by a vigorous execution of the laws, all offenders in the premises may be brought to such punishment as may deter all persons from the practice of any acts whatever which may in any way affect the safety, peace or happiness of his Majesty's Loyal and faithful Subjects in this province.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms, at the Castle of Saint Lewis in the City of Quebec, in the said Province of Lower Canada, this 21st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1810, and in the Fiftieth Year of His Majesty's Reign,

J. H. CRAIG, Governor.

C.

General HULL'S *Invading* PROCLAMATION.

INHABITANTS OF CANADA!

After thirty years of peace and prosperity the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggravations, the insults and indignities of Great-Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission.

The army under my command, has invaded your country, and the standard of Union now waves over the Territory of Canada. To the peaceable un offending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to *find* enemies not to *make* them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense Ocean, and an extensive Wilderness from Great-Britain, you have no participation in her councils, nor in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask you to avenge the one or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security, consistent with their rights, and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of Civil, Political, and Religious Liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity—that Liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct in our struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution. That Liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank

among the Nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of Peace and Security, of Wealth and Improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

In the name of my Country, and by the authority of my Government, I promise protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes—Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations—Raise not your hands against your brethren—Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of free men.

Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. *I have a force which will look down all opposition*, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectation of my country, you will be considered and treated as enemies, the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you.

If the barbarous and savage policy of Great-Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination.

The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of one in-

discriminate scene of desolation. *No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner! Instant destruction will be his lot.* If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

I doubt not your courage and firmness: I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily.

The United States offer you peace, liberty and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may he, who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hands the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interest, your peace and prosperity.

W. HULL.

By the General, A. F. HULL,

Capt. 13th Regt. U. S. Infantry, and Aid-de-Camp.

Head-Quarters, Sandwich, July 12, 1812.

D.

General SMYTH's *PROCLAMATION*,

Previous to his intended invasion, will give the reader some idea of this gasconading General.

GENERAL SMYTH

To the Soldiers of the Army of the Centre.

COMPANIONS IN ARMS !

The time is at hand when you will cross the streams of Niagara to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American Frontier.

You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. You will arrive among a people who are to become your fellow citizens. It is not against *them* that we come to make war. It is against that Government which holds them as vassals.

You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian population. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in their persons ; and in their property, as far as our imperious necessities will allow.

Private plundering is absolutely forbidden. Any soldier who quits his rank to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner.

But your just rights as soldiers will be maintained ; whatever is *booty* by the usages of war, you shall have. All horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry ; all waggons and teams in public service, will be sold for *the benefit of* the captors. Public stores will

secure for the service of the United States. The Government will, with justice, pay you the value.

The horses drawing the Light Artillery of the enemy, are wanted for the service of the United States. I will order TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS for each, to be paid the party who may take them. I will also order FORTY DOLLARS to be paid for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior, who shall be killed.

Soldiers! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. Your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West-Indies. They will not be able to stand before you—you, who charge with the bayonet. You have seen Indians, such as those hired by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded. You have seen their dances and grimaces, and heard their yells. Can you fear THEM? No, You hold them in the utmost contempt.

VOLUNTEERS,

Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavoured to dissuade you from your duty. Some times they say, if you enter Canada, you will be held to service for five years. At others, they say, that you will not be furnished with supplies. At other times, they say, that if you are wounded, the Government will not provide for you by pensions. The just and generous course pursued by government towards the Volunteers who

fought at Tippecanoe, furnishes an answer to the last objection. The others are too absurd to deserve any.

Volunteers! I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have made sacrifices on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to mislead you from the path of duty and honor, and deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the *eternal infamy* that awaits the man, who having come within sight of the enemy, *basely* shrinks in the moment of trial.

Soldiers of every Corps! It is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in Arms! You came to vanquish a valiant foe, I know the choice you will make. Come on, my heroes! And when you attack the enemy's batteries let your rallying word be, "*The Cannon lost at Detroit or Death.*"

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brigadier General Commanding.

Camp near Buffalo, 17th Nov. 1812.

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J. B. M. Mason.